EGYPTIANIZATION
# AND ELITE EMULATION
IN RAMESSIDE PALESTINE

Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery

BY

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PREFACE

This monograph developed out of an interest in the early history of Israel and the context within which Israel arose. When I approached my advisors at Johns Hopkins University about the possibility of a dissertation dealing with Egypto-Palestinian relations at the time of Israel's emergence, Betsy Bryan suggested, on the basis of her own research on the Palestinian ivories, that given the ambiguity of the evidence for an Egyptian "empire" in the Levant, a careful study of the evidence by material category would be useful and might lead to a different reconstruction of the socio-political history of the region. My own subsequent research suggested that a model of elite emulation, based on recent studies of core-periphery interaction, might have explanatory potential.

The relevance of Egypto-Palestinian relations to the question of Israelite origins is clear from the traditions preserved in the Hebrew Bible. The Israelites understood the formative event of their history to be liberation from Egyptian domination. The preceding period was a time of bondage when the Hebrew people were "Pharaoh's slaves" (Deuteronomy 6:21). A once-friendly neighboring state had become a hated oppressor who levied a heavy burden of forced labor on the people. Only when those bonds of oppression had been thrown off could the Hebrew people reach the promised land and give birth to the nation of Israel.

Pharaonic-Palestinian relations in the Ramesside period may well have provided the historical foundations for this account. At the very least, Egyptian involvement in the southern Levant provided the context within which Israel, Philistia, Ammon, Moab, and Edom came into existence. Thus the final chapters of Late Bronze Age Palestine, especially in relation to Egypt, serve as a prologue to the early history of Israel and its neighbors.

This study does not attempt to say the last word on the subject of Egypto-Palestinian relations. It does attempt to draw attention to the presuppositions that have colored past reconstructions and to suggest a new theoretical approach that benefits from the insights of core-periphery studies.

Numerous individuals have contributed to this study. My appreciation is extended first and foremost to the faculty members of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Johns Hopkins University who devoted untold hours to reading drafts of the dissertation upon which this monograph is based and discussing its progress with me: P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., who directed the dissertation, Betsy M. Bryan, who served as Egyptological advisor, and Glenn M. Schwartz, who served as archaeological advisor. Without their expert advice, criticism, and support this project would not have been possible.

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As the project moved from dissertation to publishable manuscript, others contributed to its refinement. Two in particular deserve special mention. Vivian Wagner edited the main body of the text

with an eye to improving my writing. Baruch Halpern not only recommended this manuscript to Brill for publication, but also helped me clarify my thinking and my presentation through his insightful comments.

Finally, I owe more than I can ever express to my husband Jim. He not only performed numerous tasks, like xeroxing articles and proofing chapters, but provided me with financial and emotional support. It is his unwavering faith in me that made it possible to bring this project to fruition.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Problem in Historical Context

The thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C.E. witnessed a major transition in the Near East. As the Bronze Age gave way to the Iron Age, a socio-economic and political system that had existed for millennia vanished and was replaced by another. During the Late Bronze Age (LB), ca. 1600–1200 B.C.E., the city-states of Syria-Palestine were dominated by the "Club of the Great Powers" (Tadmor 1979: 3), the kingdoms of Egypt, Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria and Babylon, but as the Bronze Age drew to an end, that structure was superseded by the Iron Age nation-states.

Thus the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C.E. represent the final flourishing of the Palestinian city-states. The region had suffered a drastic decline in population and urbanism in the middle of the sixteenth century, corresponding to the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and the rise of the New Kingdom (NK). Throughout the succeeding centuries, the southern Levant experienced a significant recovery. Although the *total settlement area* in LB never approached that of the Middle Bronze (MB), the *number of occupied sites* in LB Palestine approximated the number in MB IIA (Gonen 1984).

The transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age was marked by a reversal in this trend. The early Iron Age was characterized by the cessation of Mycenaean and Cypriot imports, the introduction of Philistine material culture along the coastal plain, and a shift in settlement patterns from lowland urban to highland village. The decline of the lowland cities culminated in destruction layers at many of the sites.

At the same time, the material culture of the Palestinian lowlands underwent a conspicuous Egyptianization. Although Egyptian objects are present in the archaeological record of earlier periods, the absolute and relative numbers of such artifacts increase significantly in LB IIB, during the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The pattern of finds is similar in the early Iron Age, after which the Egyptian-related objects decline in frequency.

IA- may be period for emulation

Politically, the southern Levant fell under Egyptian dominance during LB. The correspondence from the archive at Tell el-Amarna documents a vassal relationship between the pharaoh and the city-rulers of Syria-Palestine in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. In the succeeding Ramesside period, the socio-political situation is less clear. Although the treaty that Ramesses II concluded with the Hittites stabilized the border between their respective spheres of influence in Syria, leaving Palestine within the Egyptian zone, the nature and extent of the influence exercised by the Egyptians remains an open question.

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

By the early 1980's a consensus had emerged regarding pharaonic policy toward Asia during the New Kingdom. Although individual details could still be disputed, scholars agreed about the general structure and history of the Egyptian Empire in Syria-Palestine.

One of the more influential statements of the developing consensus was written by W. Helck (1971: 246–255; see also 1960). He reconstructs the system of imperial administration by studying the Egyptian officials who appear to have been connected with pharaonic interests in Asia. Helck relies heavily on the evidence of the Amarna letters, and, because he notes little difference between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty systems of administration, he is able to use this evidence for his analysis of the entire period. He concludes that the New Kingdom empire in the Levant consisted of three provinces: Amurru, Upe, and Canaan. Each province was administered by an "overseer of northern lands" (imy-r3 h3st mhtt), who was responsible for collecting taxes, maintaining law and order, and settling disputes among local princes. These overseers reported directly to the Egyptian king. Garrison-troops were stationed in various cities to protect the vassal princes (Helck 1960; 1971: 246–255).

Although Helck's three-province scheme has been widely accepted (Kitchen 1969: 81; Drower 1970: 472; cf. Moran 1992: xxvi, n. 70), some scholars argue for different configurations. N. Na'aman (1981: 183) supports a division of Syria-Palestine into two administrative units, one of which comprised the Phoenician coast and most of Palestine, the other southern Syria and northernmost Palestine. A similar organization has been envisioned already by E. Edel (1953: 55). D. Redford (1984: 26), on the other hand, proposes four provinces

[margin note: Various opinions on Empire]

with headquarters at Gaza, Megiddo/Beth Shan, Kumidi, and Ullaza/Sumur.

The other major point of contention has been the degree of continuity or discontinuity between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. A number of scholars discount the applicability of the Amarna evidence to the Nineteenth Dynasty on the grounds that the Ramessides introduced a new expansionist program, involving the gradual annexation of the southern Levant (Singer 1988).

J. Weinstein (1981) catalogues the architectural and inscriptional evidence from Palestine and concludes that these monuments, taken together with the numerous small finds of Egyptian type, indicate a shift in pharaonic policy toward the region beginning in the Nineteenth Dynasty. As Weinstein argues,

> whereas in prior centuries Asiatic revolts had been suppressed by Egyptian troops who then either returned home or went back to one of a handful of garrisons situated at certain strategic points in the region, in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. the Egyptians stayed in Palestine in much larger numbers than ever before (Weinstein 1981: 18).

Weinstein bases his analysis on the dramatic increase in Egyptian objects found in Palestine in LB IIB and Iron IA in contrast with the preceding phases of LB:

> More examples of almost every category of Egyptian antiquity occur in Palestine during the LB IIB-Iron IA period than in any comparable span of time during the entire Bronze Age (Weinstein 1981: 22).

On the assumption that the rise in the frequency of finds with Egyptian associations directly reflects the posting of large numbers of Egyptian soldiers and bureaucrats to imperial centers in Palestine, he concludes that with the Ramesside era, Egyptian policy shifted from economic and political domination to military occupation (Weinstein 1981: 17).

Because most scholars have recognized the comprehensiveness of Weinstein's description of the archaeological data, they have accepted his basic conclusions, restricting their efforts to refinements of the theory and to studies of individual features of the phenomenon (e.g. Oren 1984b; McGovern 1985; Singer 1988–1989). In the most recent discussions of the Late Bronze Age, Weinstein is still cited as furnishing the definitive study on the subject of archaeological evidence for Egyptian relations with the Levant (A. Mazar 1990: 232, n. 1; Dever 1992: 101; Knapp 1992: 94).

[margin note: Correlation of artifact possible mistake]

Despite differences with regard to details, the scholarly treatments of the last half century share an interpretive framework: they view the developments in the Levant through the lens of imperialism with the Egyptian Empire as the defining characteristic of the period and pharaonic policy as its determinative factor.

A problem with this reconstruction is that the scholars who propound it rarely give attention to definitions of empire and imperialism, using these terms as if they had well-established meanings. Thus, scholarly treatments often begin with discussions of the exigencies of empire, and the military and administrative strategies best suited to meet those needs.

Yet, empire and imperialism are vague concepts, covering a broad range of phenomena:

> broadly speaking, imperialism may be defined as the domination or control of one group over another group. There are widely varying relationships involving such domination and dependence. They may be planned or unplanned, conscious, half-conscious, or unconscious, direct or indirect, physical or psychological, open or concealed (Baumgart 1982: 1).

The variations are not insignificant, since they affect the institutional structuring of the empire and the system of interactions between the core and its periphery (Eisenstadt 1979: 21). Unless these factors are specified, it is unclear which species of empire is being envisaged, thus precluding a rigorous treatment of the subject.

As scholars working in areas outside the ancient Near East have recognized, a variety of models of empire can be distinguished. B. Bartel (1989: 171–172), for example, reduces them to a six-cell matrix. Crossing two policies (colonial and non-colonial) with three strategies (eradication-resettlement, acculturation, and equilibrium) produces six types of empires. Each type calls for different behaviors on the part of the dominant power and for different responses on the part of the dominated group. Additional models could be developed based on other sets of characteristics.

In recent years students of the ancient Near East have begun to recognize the need for greater theoretical rigor. As P. J. Frandsen (1979: 167) points out,

> an increasing number of Egyptologists have become aware of the necessity to reconsider and reassess what former generations of scholars established as firmly rooted concepts and incontestable "facts", the incentive being less the constant flow of new material than precisely

the recognition that the subjects of study and the results obtained are to a considerable extent the product of the mind of the investigator.

As a result of this increased recognition of the fact that all arguments are rooted in the presuppositions of the theoretician, scholars have begun to reexamine and reformulate their approaches to the problem.

Redford's reconstruction of the Amarna period is a prime example of this trend. Redford questions whether a model of empire based on later imperial systems is applicable to the Egyptian phenomenon. A study of Amarna period provincial officials leads him to conclude that

> the spheres of operation of these officers were constantly shifting on an ad hoc basis, and we cannot speak of "provinces" in the sense that we have become familiar with through the study of the Roman Empire (Redford 1992: 201).

The system of administration customary to the Egyptians was that of the circuit official who made the rounds of a frontier zone or conquered territory (Redford 1990: 35). Instead of imposing on the data a vaguely-defined notion of imperialism based on studies of later empires, Redford gives priority to earlier Egyptian patterns of governance. This method leads Redford to a very different set of conclusions about the nature of the Egyptian empire than that produced by previous studies.

We might question as well the assumption that economic and military considerations drove Egyptian imperialism. There is no doubt that Egypt used its control of Palestine to extract agricultural goods and to create a buffer zone between the Nile Valley and the other great powers. However, we need not conclude that the empire produced a consistent and substantial net profit for the Egyptian state, as seems to be assumed in many discussions of the economy of the empire (Ahituv 1978; Na'aman 1981a). Alternatively we might attribute the imperial impulse to ideological considerations. One of the royal epithets which becomes increasingly popular in the Ramesside period is the one "who expands the boundaries of Egypt." If imperial ambitions became a requisite element in the ideology of kingship, so that every pharaoh had to be able to lay claim to territory beyond the Nile Valley, even a modest drain on pharaonic resources could have been tolerated in exchange for the propagandistic value of Egyptian "control" over distant lands.

In order to progress in our understanding of the Egyptian empire, we must develop precise, historically-accurate models against which the data can be tested. Recent theoretical advances in other fields, such as anthropology, sociology, and geography, may provide a basis for models which are rigorously defined.

TOWARDS A NEW MODEL

One of the more promising areas of study for our purposes is that of core-periphery interaction. Scholars in a number of social scientific fields have explored the explanatory potential of this approach, which examines the patterns of relationship that develop between powerful and/or prestigious centers of civilization and the areas peripheral to them (Champion 1989: 3). In particular, many have examined the various effects that centers may have on their peripheries (Bartel 1985; 1989; Champion 1990; Millett 1990; Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen 1987; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989; Winter 1977). The theoretical and methodological insights deriving from such studies can be applied to the problem of the Egyptianization of Palestine.

One new model that has emerged from the study of core-periphery interaction is that of *Elite Emulation*. This theory holds that the peripheries of prestigious cultures sometimes derive a legitimating function from the core cultures. Features of the "great civilization" are adopted and adapted by local elites and their communities to provide an iconography of power which transfers some of the prestige of the distant center to the local rulers.

M. Helms (1988: 137–144) has noted this process in the Islamization of sub-Saharan Africa, the Indianization of South India and Southeast Asia, and the Sinicization of the Chinese periphery. In each case,

> kingship was at least partly legitimized by association with foreign political ideologies derived from outside polities, particularly complex civilizations with sacred centers of their own (Helms 1988: 148).

A number of sources were drawn upon for the new iconography of power including "foreign customs and advisory personnel, ceremonials and regalia, sacred writings, holy cities, and even foreign gods" (Helms 1988: 149).

This core-periphery model does not presume a particular pattern of military or economic domination. Rather it stresses the sociolog-

[handwritten margin note: Hig's definition]

ical and ideological dimensions of imperialism from the perspectives of both the center and its periphery. Both parties derive legitimation from their participation in the imperial system.

I. Winter's (1977) study of the "local style" of Hasanlu IVB cylinder seals demonstrates the implications of an emulation model for archaeological interpretation. Winter attributes the "local style" to the emulation of Assyrian power iconography. In Stratum IVB at Hasanlu, objects were not merely imported or copied; Assyrian motifs related to power and authority were reworked in a local context, which included a change in scale from monumental to minor art (Winter 1977: 371–386).

A similar process can be seen in the architecture of Hasanlu. The major public buildings of Stratum IVB were characterized by the use of buttressed facades, a feature of the monumental architecture of Mesopotamia from the fourth millennium B.C.E. on. Again, Assyrian prototypes were not reproduced *in toto*, but rather Assyrian elements were incorporated in buildings of otherwise indigenous style (Dyson 1989b: 126–127).

The evidence from Hasanlu underlines the importance of the modification of borrowed features in the emulation process. Since the features are not imposed from outside, they must be made meaningful within the local context in order to exercise a legitimating function. In the process changes are often made which affect the appearance or use of the borrowed elements. One clue to the identification of emulation, therefore, is some modification or hybridization of the features that integrates them into the local cultural context.

Winter stresses the inadequacy of viewing emulation as a purely internal affair, affecting only relations within the local society. In fact, the effects may be felt in two distinct social dimensions:

> (1) By adopting elements of the more sophisticated culture the status of the borrower can be increased with respect to the conferring culture, bringing individuals closer to the level of equals in interaction by decreasing the differences and thus the (power) gap between them (Winter 1977: 380–381).
>
> (2) Through an emphasis on the newly accumulated wealth and prestige, the power base of the elite within the home society is increased, thereby strengthening the existing social hierarchy while at the same time manipulating the local population by allowing them to identify with the added prestige of the elite and vicariously share in the glory (Winter 1977: 381).

[handwritten margin note: What we should look for in arky context]

The dimension of center-periphery relations thus highlights additional factors with the potential to motivate local rulers to emulate the core.

According to M. Millett (1990), the Romanization of Britain represents an instance of *Elite Emulation* in which both dimensions of social relations were affected. He points out that

> under the new circumstances of defeat and incorporation into the Empire, the social status of those at the top of the hierarchy was defined as much in relation to Roman power as by dominance within the tribe . . . Political positions within the new structure may have conferred their own status both through access to the new supra-tribal source of power and the knowledge of Roman ways, together with the associated material attributes. This access to things Roman, both materially and in the abstract, would fulfil an important rôle in social competition. The Romanization of institutions and possessions of the aristocracy should thus have played an active part in the process of social change and not simply been a reflection of it (Millett 1990: 68–69).

In fact, Millett claims that "portraying oneself as Roman—wearing the *toga* and speaking latin (*sic*)—became a 'prestige good' in its own right" (Millett 1990: 69).

Millett sees the process most clearly in the appearance of Romanized architecture. Roman-style dedicatory inscriptions and buildings modeled on the Roman *forum* and *villa* began to appear in the period immediately following the invasion, in some cases even before the areas had been officially incorporated into the Empire. These Romano-British structures were not identical to their continental prototypes, but were adapted to local needs and circumstances. Indeed, in most cases, they were constructed on the sites of Late Pre-Roman Iron Age settlements. Millett concludes that in the post-invasion period local elites had a strong desire to appear Romanized (Millett 1990: 69–85, 91–99).

In Ramesside Palestine as in Roman Britain, the local elites depended upon an external polity for their access to power. Given the prestige accorded Egypt, not only as a military and political power, but as a center of civilization, we might expect the local princes to have emulated Egyptian culture as a means of enhancing their stature. The presence of garrison-troops, the payment of tribute, and the right of appeal to Egyptian officials to settle disputes with neighboring polities were all reminders of pharaonic might. It would not be at all surprising if Egypt and things Egyptian came to

The case for Emulation in Palestine

symbolize power and authority. In addition, from the time of Thutmose III, Asiatic princelings were raised and educated in the Nile Valley. Upon their return they might well have introduced a provincial Egyptian culture as a symbol of their elite status and a legitimation of their authority. Furthermore, advancement within the pharaonic bureaucracy was historically open to Egyptianized foreigners, providing a second dimension of social relations to the possible motives for emulation.

B. Bryan's (1991) work on the Palestinian ivories supports this theory. Although she does not term the process "elite emulation," Bryan recognizes that Egyptian motifs were being used to create an iconography of power for the local elites during the twelfth century B.C.E. For instance, Egyptian-style sphinxes, traditionally foreign guardians of Egypt, symbolically protected the local princes whose furniture they adorned.

A SYNTHETIC APPROACH

The question of Egypto-Palestinian relations in the Ramesside period lies at the intersection of two fields: Egyptology and Syro-Palestinian archaeology. The available evidence comprises both written documentation, most of which is in the Egyptian language, and material culture remains from excavations in the Levant. Although my goal is to achieve an historical reconstruction consistent with both sets of data, the treatment of each involves a distinct specialty.

As a result, most research has focused exclusively on either archaeological or textual evidence. For example, Helck's (1971) and Redford's (1992) analyses of the system of imperial administration depend almost entirely on the documentary data, whereas Weinstein's (1981) study of the Egyptian empire concentrates on the archaeological data.[1]

Although such studies have produced useful compilations of data, they are inherently unsatisfactory as historical reconstructions. By considering only one variety of the available data, they introduce a bias into the results. Each type of data provides a window into different aspects of history. The documentary evidence privileges the

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[1] Although Weinstein incorporates textual evidence in his discussion of earlier phases of the New Kingdom, such data are largely absent from the section on the Ramesside period.

perspectives of the elite class and the ruling power and speaks most readily to short-term events. The material evidence offers the possibility of insight into the experiences of other classes and groups and is most useful in illuminating long-term processes Knapp 1993: 21, 50–51 .

Therefore, both textual and archaeological data must be employed in reconstructing the past. The goal is "to create a dialogue between these two essential resources, the material and the documentary, neither of which outweighs or overrules the other" (Knapp 1993: ix). Only through such a synthesis can we hope to write a balanced and nuanced history.

At the same time, we must recognize the difficulties inherent in the synthetic approach. Archaeological remains and textual records differ fundamentally as types of data; whereas the deductive approach is most effective for analyzing the archaeological record, the inductive approach is most appropriate to the kinds of documentary evidence available for our study. Therefore, we cannot investigate both at the same time or by means of the same methodology, since the methods and procedures developed for one cannot be imposed on the other.

The key to a successful synthesis is to separate the analysis of the two types of evidence into parallel treatments. Only after each has been studied utilizing the methodologies appropriate for that type of data should the results be correlated and conclusions drawn.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study will proceed, therefore, with separate considerations of the documentary and archaeological evidence. In each case, the analysis will consider whether the data are more consistent with a model of *Direct Rule* or a model of *Elite Emulation*. I will compare and correlate the results in the final chapter.

I have chosen the *Direct Rule* model as a representation of the theoretical construct implicit in the prevailing reconstruction. The Egyptian empire, as described by Helck and Weinstein, was characterized by a non-colonial policy and a strategy of equilibrium. The Egyptians did not institute a full-scale colonization of the region, nor did they attempt to eradicate, resettle, or acculturate the entire local population.

Table 1
Archaeological Expectations for the Two Models

Evidence	Direct Rule	Emulation
Egyptian settlements	Outlying settlements or at least forts in Palestine	None outside Egypt
Egyptian-style architecture		
nature	Indistinguishable from that in Nile Valley	Modified; Egyptian and Palestinian features combined
distribution	Uneven distribution; some sites more Egyptian than others	Even distribution within given radius of Egypt on sites of equal status; declines with distance from Egypt
Egyptian-style artifacts		
nature	Domestic as well as prestige goods on some sites	Mostly prestige goods and transport vessels; some Egyptianizing artifacts
context	Domestic as well as funerary and ritual	Mostly funerary and ritual
association	Some "pure" Egyptian contexts	Always associated with local products
distribution	Uneven distribution; some sites with much more Egyptian-style material than others	Even distribution within given radius of Egypt on sites of equal status; declines with distance from Egypt

According to this model, Egyptian imperialism had both military and economic goals. The military goals included maintaining a buffer zone between the Nile Valley and the other "Great Powers" and keeping the roads open for the passage of Egyptian armies and trade caravans. The economic goals included maximizing the exploitation of Levantine agricultural resources. Correspondingly, the imperial system had both military and civilian branches. Representing the military branch were military garrison-hosts posted at key points

throughout the region, and representing the civilian branch were numerous civilian administrators, from governors to petty bureaucrats, permanently stationed in Palestine so as to ensure the prompt and orderly collection of taxes.

The analysis of the documentary evidence will entail a close reading of the relevant texts, including Ramesside royal inscriptions, references to offices and individuals associated with Syria-Palestine, and inscriptional remains from Palestine. The goals of the reading are: 1 to determine the nature and extent of Egyptian administrative and political control; 2 to clarify pharaonic policy regarding Asia; and 3' to reconstruct the socio-economic circumstances that prevailed in the Levant.

In order to conduct a deductive analysis of the archaeological evidence, we must first posit the markers which each model would be expected to leave in the material culture record. The models themselves describe the attitudes and behaviors of human beings and the socio-political systems that they developed, whereas archaeology can only observe the material consequences of those actions. Therefore we must translate our theoretical constructs into sets of expectations about the nature and distribution of archaeologically-recoverable artifacts see table 1.

The *Direct Rule* model posits an Egyptian military and administrative presence in Palestine consisting of garrison-hosts and bureaucrats posted in imperial centers throughout the region. The closest parallel that we have for this model is the Egyptian expansion into Nubia.

When the Egyptians pushed south into Nubia in the Middle Kingdom, they established a series of fortresses along the Nile River as far as the second cataract. Between the fortresses were tiny outposts consisting of "rude stone huts containing purely Egyptian pottery" Adams 1977: 183). A reoccupation of many of the Middle Kingdom fortresses accompanied the reassertion of pharaonic control over Nubia in the New Kingdom. In addition, the Egyptians constructed massive temples in the existing settlements and in previously uninhabited areas. These culminated in the spectacular rock-cut temples of Ramesses II Adams 1977: 218 225'.

The material culture of these settlements is so thoroughly Egyptian that it has created an interpretive problem. The number of Egyptian-type graves with 99% Egyptian funerary goods seems too large for the projected size of the colonial population, yet the transition from

Nubian-type graves with 75% local funerary goods to Egyptian-type graves appears too sudden to be explained by acculturation of the local population Adams 1977: 239; Kemp 1978: 33–35). Regardless of the precise composition of the population, the imposition of *Direct Rule* by the Egyptians was accompanied by the appearance of temple-towns that were, in Kemp's 1978: 33' words, "reproductions of the New Kingdom city idea." There can be no doubt that these settlements were pharaonic installations with an almost purely Egyptian material culture.

A similar pattern of finds appears in Roman Britain. In the frontier areas of northern Britain, the local population was not incorporated into the Empire. Instead of being governed by Romanized local elites on behalf of Rome, as was the case in the south, the northern region was governed directly by the Romans through a series of military outposts. These outposts, inhabited by Roman soldiers and administrators, were thoroughly Roman in their material culture, whereas the surrounding villages continued the pre-Roman Iron Age culture Millett 1990..

R. D. Whitehouse and J. B. Wilkins 1989: 108 developed a set of expectations consistent with these examples to study the Hellenization of south-east Italy. Their work suggests that if the Greeks who settled on the Italian coast attempted to exert control over the surrounding region, the expected pattern of material culture remains would be an uneven distribution of Greek-style defenses, architecture, and artifacts. There would be some pure Greek contexts where domestic artifacts and coins, as well as prestige goods, would be found. These would not be limited to funerary and ritual contexts, but would include some domestic contexts.

A very different pattern was uncovered at the site of Kanesh in Anatolia. The Old Assyrian trading colony that occupied a quarter within the city was almost invisible archaeologically. Except for the inscriptional evidence, the material remains were entirely local in character. The Assyrians did not bring durable goods with them or produce their own Assyrian-style artifacts at the site. Instead they adopted the material culture of the local population Larsen 1976 .

Although we cannot dismiss out of hand the possibility that Egyptians might adopt Palestinian material culture, the Nubian parallel suggests that it is the less likely scenario. In the only verifiable case of

Various Historical Scenarios of Acculturation

New Kingdom Egyptian imposition of *Direct Rule* on a subject population, Egyptian, not local, material culture characterized the pharaonic centers.

On the strength of the Nubian case and others like it, then, we can surmise that if the *Direct Rule* model is correct, we would expect to find a chain of Egyptian forts and/or settlements, or, at least, Egyptian quarters within local cities. The material culture of these sites would be almost indistinguishable from that of the Nile Valley. From the architecture to the small finds, the settlements would resemble transplanted Egyptian cities. According to the *Direct Rule* model, we would have the following expectations:

1) *The architecture of pharaonic installations would be expected to be of Egyptian-style.* The plans of the buildings and the methods of their construction would closely resemble the architecture of the Nile Valley. The expected building types would include residences, temples, and administrative structures, such as granaries.

2) *The corpus of artifacts from Egyptian settlements would be expected to closely resemble that of similar settlements within Egypt.* A high percentage of the types of pottery and objects found in the Nile Valley should be attested in Palestine. At the very least, these types should include domestic as well as prestige goods, and they should be equally as common in residential as in ritual and funerary contexts.

3) *Egyptian material culture would be unevenly distributed at sites in Palestine.* Although one would expect to find small quantities of Egyptian-style objects in local settings, there would be some purely Egyptian contexts. These sites, or quarters within sites, would have a pattern of remains that would be recognizable as characteristically Egyptian.

We can derive the expectations for the *Elite Emulation* model from the evidence of Roman Britain, presented above, correlating it with Whitehouse and Wilkins' 1989 study of the Hellenization of Italy. Although their model of "peaceful coexistence" is not precisely analogous to *Elite Emulation*, the set of archaeological expectations developed by Whitehouse and Wilkins is quite similar to the pattern observed in Roman Britain. They posit that a policy of peaceful coexistence would translate into an even distribution of Greek-style material across south-east Italy that consisted primarily of prestige goods and transport vessels found in funerary and ritual contexts (Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989: 108). The results of their study bear out these hypotheses.

In the discussion of the *Elite Emulation* model above, we note that

the process results in modifications to the borrowed features. The neighboring culture is not adopted *in toto*; rather, certain elements are selected and adapted to the local context. Archaeologically these modifications would affect both the nature and the context of the artifacts, as was observed most clearly at Hasanlu. The *Elite Emulation* model has the following set of expectations:

1) *The corpus of Egyptian-style remains from Palestine would be expected to be much more restricted in its variety than that found in the Nile Valley.* Only a limited number of types would be selected for emulation. We would not expect to find the full range of architectural, ceramic, and artifactual types comprised in the material culture of New Kingdom Egypt.

2) *The attested types would be expected to be primarily prestige goods rather than domestic artifacts.* Although the inclusion of one or two domestic types in the assemblage would not disprove the model, the corpus ought to consist almost exclusively of goods with a high prestige value due to their material, function, or cultural associations.

3) *The attested types would be expected to include hybrid Egypto-Palestinian types, as well as types that can be identified with each cultural sphere.* The process of adaptation to the local context would logically result in the combining and blending of elements from each cultural horizon. Therefore, the development of hybrid or Egyptianizing types would be expected.

4) *No Egyptian settlements or pure Egyptian contexts would be found outside the border of the Nile Valley.* Egyptian-style artifacts would always occur in association with artifacts of local type.

5) *Egyptian-style material would be expected to appear primarily in funerary and ritual contexts.* Although an occasional object might occur in a domestic context, the vast majority of the Egyptian-style artifacts would be found in temples and tombs. Such a pattern would reflect the treatment of the objects as prestige goods.

6) *The distribution of Egyptian-style material culture remains would be expected to be relatively even.* On sites of the same size and status, the relative quantity of Egyptian-style artifacts would decline gradually as the distance from Egypt increased.

The expected pattern of material culture remains for each of the models outlined above will be utilized in a deductive analysis of the archaeological evidence in Chapter 3. Since the volume of archaeological material from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine is extensive, for the purposes of this study it has been divided into four categories of

remains: Pottery (Appendix A), Non-ceramic vessels (Appendix B), Objects (Appendix C), and Architecture (Appendix D). Within each category I will subject the remains to a typological and distributional analysis, the results of which I will then compare to the expectations for the *Direct Rule* and *Elite Emulation* models.

CHAPTER TWO

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

INTRODUCTION

Textual evidence for the post-Amarna administration of Palestine is extremely limited. We have only a small number of documents touching on the subject available for study, and most of them do not address the system of administration directly. Therefore we cannot attempt anything like a statistical analysis of the material. Rather, we must study each document individually, with due attention to its historical value and the presence of any literary features. In many cases the text itself does not focus on the system of administration *per se*, and information about that system must be "teased" from the hints provided by the text. All of the bits of data must then be brought together and sketched into the emerging reconstruction. In the end we will, at best, have a broad outline of the relationship between Egypt and the Levant and the system of administration utilized by the Ramessides.

One must guard against the twin dangers of overinterpreting the existing evidence and arguing from silence. The nature of the extant corpus is shaped largely by the accidents of discovery and preservation. The documents that we have may not be representative of the original corpus of texts generated by the Egyptian administration. The absence of documentation for an activity, relationship, or official may be due to no more than chance or "bad luck"—the failure of the relevant texts to survive and emerge in excavations. A single reference to an administrative function may be equally misleading, if there is no other evidence that the function was repeated or integrated into a system of administration.

I organize the following textual evidence chronologically by king's reigns in order to provide a historical context for the material. Under each reign the evidence for the political and military relationship between Egypt and the Levant is surveyed first. Then the material relating to the administration of the region is discussed.

THE AMARNA PERIOD

The Ramesside system of imperial administration was not created *de novo*, but built upon the structure created by the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs. Therefore a brief summary of the Eighteenth Dynasty evidence is needed to provide a background for the study of the later material.

Redford (1990) has recently argued persuasively that the system of imperial administration in the Amarna period and earlier was loosely structured. Rather than creating an entirely new organization, the Egyptians continued their customary system of administration for outlying regions, the appointment of circuit officials who made the rounds of a frontier zone or conquered territory (Redford 1990: 35). There were no "provinces" with fixed boundaries, only circuits to which officials were assigned (Redford 1990: 34). The system is alluded to in Taanach letter 6, in which the Egyptian official Amenhotep speaks of having stopped at Gaza and complains that the city-ruler of Taanach did not appear before him while he was there (Albright 1944: 24–25).

While an individual officer was visiting his assigned cities, he exercised a wide range of authority, acting as a royal plenipotentiary. He conveyed messages from the pharaonic court; requisitioned taxes, tribute, and other goods as needed; and settled disputes between vassals (Redford 1992: 200–201). He also delivered gifts from the king to the vassal princes (EA 265, 369).

The status of the local princes roughly equaled that of an Egyptian mayor (Redford 1990: 29). In addition to taking the oath in the king's name (ꜥdꜣ ꜥnḫ), vassals were required to provision Egyptian troops when they passed through the region (EA 55, 226, 324, 337, 367); provide troops and chariots to augment the Egyptian army (EA 195, 201–206); furnish corvée workers (EA 365); send to Egypt their tribute (EA 254, 325) and other goods as requested (EA 235, 237, 242, 323, 331), including their sons (EA 137, 159) and daughters (EA 99, 187); submit intelligence reports to the court (EA 108, 140); and appear before the king when summoned (EA 162). From the time of Thutmose III, the sons of Asiatic vassals were often raised and educated in the Nile Valley (*Urk.* IV 690:2–6, 780:6; EA 156, 296).

During this period the Egyptians stationed garrisons and other imperial installations in a few Levantine cities. A gloss in an Amarna letter (EA 294) attests to the presence of a pharaonic granary in

Jaffa. The word "house" in the phrase "house of the king" is glossed with *šu-nu-ti* for Egyptian *šnwty* "granary." From the frequent references in the Amarna letters, the cities of Gaza, Kumidi, Sumur, and Ullaza appear to have played prominent roles in the administration of the region. The vassals continuously reiterated their diligence in guarding these cities for the king. Unfortunately the texts do not mention the functions that the cities served, except for the fact that Gaza and Sumur housed garrisons (EA 77, 289). Most garrisons, however, were not permanently posted in one location, but moved about as circumstances required. At various times during the Eighteenth Dynasty, garrisons were located in Sharuhen, Ugarit, Ullaza, Byblos, and Jerusalem (Redford 1992: 205–207).

REIGN OF SETI I

Political and Military History

The written evidence of Egyptian policy toward and administration of Syria-Palestine during the reign of Seti I is scanty. Information about pharaonic policy is found in three sources—the battle reliefs from the Karnak temple, the stelae which were erected in the Levant during his reign, and the toponym lists. None of these provides direct information about the Egyptian administration of Syria-Palestine.

The process of reconstructing the history of Seti I's northern wars is very complicated. We cannot treat the battle reliefs, stelae, and toponym lists sequentially as independent pieces of evidence, since they have been used to interpret each other, thus creating an interlocking argument not easily disentangled. As each piece of information is added, it will be necessary to return to earlier discussions and draw the connections together. The resulting presentation is somewhat repetitive at points, but allows a thorough treatment of the various issues involved.

Battle Reliefs

Seti's battle reliefs were carved on the northern outer wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall of the Karnak temple (Epigraphic Survey 1986). Each side of the wall originally comprised three registers. Only two

registers are preserved on the east side. The foe in the bottom register is the Shasu, and the northernmost point depicted is *dmi n p3 kn'n* "town of PaCanaan or the Canaan." The middle register shows the pharaoh in Lebanon and at Yeno'am. On the west side, a battle against the Libyans is sandwiched in between wars against the Hittites on the bottom and Kadesh and Amurru on the top.

The Karnak reliefs have been the subject of an ongoing discussion (Faulkner 1947; Gaballa 1976; Spalinger 1979; Broadhurst 1989; Murnane 1990). One of the major issues has been the order in which the scenes are to be read and hence the chronology of Seti's northern wars.

Whereas scholars agree that the west side records three separate campaigns, opinions vary as to the number of campaigns represented on the east side. Spalinger (1979) argues for a single campaign progressing from Sile to Lebanon and the coastal cities of Amurru. Faulkner (1947) divides the events into two campaigns, linking the bottom and middle registers. Gaballa (1976), Broadhurst (1989), and Murnane (1990) all interpret each register as a distinct campaign, although they disagree about the order in which the scenes on the west side are to be read.

The point to be decided here is the relationship between the bottom and middle registers on the east side. In other words, did Seti I conduct one or two campaigns against sites in Palestine? The problem of the west side reliefs, although interesting in its own right, is not directly relevant to the history of Palestine.

The primary argument for linking the two registers rests on a correlation of these inscriptions with the first Beth Shan stela (*KRI* I, 11–12). Of the two registers, only the bottom one records a year-date, regnal year one (*KRI* I, 8:8, 9:3). This is the same date given in the first Beth Shan stela (*KRI* I, 11:15). The fact that both the middle register and the stela report a battle with Yeno'am has led some scholars to merge the registers into a single campaign occurring in year one of Seti's reign.

The initial scene, in the middle of the lower register, is undated and contains only a brief text with several lacunae. Nevertheless it provides a hint about the cause of the conflict: *n3 ts wt n n3 bStru iw n rh 'tw sw3.sn m-' hrw n '3w wme hr t<k>n im. J* " As for the hills of the rebels, they could not be passed because of the Shasu enemies who were attacking [him]" trans. Epigraphic Survey 1986: 14 15. According to the text, the Shasu were interrupting traffic along the roads in southern Palestine.

The first date formula appears in the scene at the far right. The victory of Seti over the Shasu *m s3' m p3 htm n tr r p3 kn'n* "beginning from the fort of Sile to PaCanaan" is proclaimed to have occurred in regnal year one (*KRI* I, 8:8 12). The decisive battle apparently took place before the gates of the fortified city labelled *dmi n p3 kn'n* "town of PaCanaan" (*KRI* I, 8:16), which is usually identified with Gaza (Katzenstein 1982).

A second date formula occurs in the scene of Seti's triumphal return to Egypt which contains a standard *iw.tw* report. The report follows the format typical of the genre: date formula, titulary, epithets, *iw.tw* formula reporting the enemy's instigation of hostilities, and the reaction of the king. The only missing feature is the stereotypical passage placing the king in the palace which often preceded the *iw.tw* formula Spalinger 1982: 8:

> Year one ... One came to say to his majesty: "As for the fallen ones of the Shasu, they plot rebellion, their tribal chiefs being together in one place standing upon the hills of Khor Syria-Palestine " *KRI* I, 9:3 4.

The king is reported to have been delighted at the prospect of battle and, having completely destroyed his foes, carried off the survivors as prisoners to *t3-mri* (*KRI* I, 9:5 8).

The middle register depicts a campaign to Yeno'am and Lebanon. The first scene shows a battle taking place at a city labelled Yeno'am. No other information is preserved. The next scene illustrates the submission of the great princes of Lebanon. As Spalinger (1979: 32) notes, there is no indication of a battle in this region. The text, though broken, does not appear to include a description of combat, and the relief itself depicts a ceremony of submission. It would seem that Seti I traversed his Asiatic holdings, collecting tribute and reasserting his sovereignty over the various localities. In those places where he was less than enthusiastically received, he backed up his claim with military force.

The internal evidence for joining the lower and middle registers into a single account is quite limited. Spalinger (1979: 31) points to the lack of any departure scene in the middle register. Against this reasoning it should be observed that there is no real departure scene in the bottom register either. The *iw.tw* report is placed in the scene of the king's triumphal return to Egypt. Furthermore, the poor state of preservation of the middle register leaves open the possibility that a *iw.tw* formula was included there also.

She doesn't mention "destroyed fort"

Great Point!

Stelae

The second source of information about pharaonic policy toward
Palestine under Seti I comprises the stelae erected in the Levant dur-
ing his reign. Stelae were found at Tell es-Shihâb (*KRI* I, 17), Tell
Nebi Mend—Kadesh (*KRI* I, 25), Tyre (*KRI* I, 117), and Beth Shan
KRI I, 11–12, 15–16). The first three—from Tell es-Shihâb, Tell
Nebi Mend, and Tyre—are poorly preserved and permit us to con-
clude only that Seti I placed stelae in those locations.

Two stelae of Seti I were found in secondary context at Beth Shan,
both carved from the local basalt. The one conventionally known as
the "first" Beth Shan stela (*KRI* I, 11–12) was found in the north-
ern temple of Lower Level V where it was set up beside a stela of
Ramesses II and a statue of Ramesses III. Lower Level V is assigned
to Iron IB, no earlier than the last half of the Twentieth Dynasty
James 1966: 34–37, 153. The "second" Beth Shan stela (*KRI* I,
15–16) was unearthed in the Byzantine stratum and is badly worn
(Albright 1952: 24).

The first Beth Shan stela is a typical example of a *iw.tw* report.
It opens with a precise date-formula: "year one, third month of *šmw*,
day 10" (*KRI* I, 11:15. Following the full titulary of Seti I and the
standard laudatory epithets, the report section of the text reads:

> On this day one came to say to his majesty that as for the doomed
> fallen one who is in the town of Hamath, he has assembled for him-
> self numerous people. He is seizing the town of Beth Shan. Having
> united with those of Pella, he will not let the prince of Rehob go forth
> outside (*KRI* I, 12:7–10.

The king responds by dispatching three army units—Amun-strong-
of-bows, Pre'-numerous-of-valor, and Seth-mighty-of-bows—to the
towns of Hamath, Beth Shan, and Yeno'am, respectively. The entire
operation is said to have been accomplished within the course of
one day *KRI* I, 12:10–14. No other details of the combat are pro-
vided.

The places mentioned in the stela are all to be located in the
vicinity of Beth Shan. Scholars agree as to the identification of most
of the sites. Hamath is Tell el-Hammeh, nine miles south of Beth
Shan (Helck 1971: 191; Aharoni 1979: 177; Ahituv 1984: 112–113;
Pella is Khirbet Fâhil (Helck 1971: 191; Ahituv 1984: 153–154; and
Rehob is Tell es-Sarem, three miles south of Beth Shan (Helck 1971:
191; Aharoni 1979: 177; Ahituv 1984: 164–165.

The location of Yeno'am, however, is disputed. Scholars cannot
even agree as to whether it was on the west or east bank of the
Jordan. The two leading candidates for the site of Yeno'am are Tell
el-'Abeidiyeh (Aharoni 1979: 177; Spalinger 1979: 31) at the southern
end of the Sea of Galilee and Tell esh-Shihâb (Na'aman 1977) in
the Yarmuk Valley. Although unwilling to commit to an identification
of Yeno'am with Tell esh-Shihâb, Ahituv accepted Na'aman's argu-
ment for an east bank locale.

The evidence available at present favors a site east of the Jordan.
The Kom el-Hetan topographical list Edel 1966: 9–10 and Amarna
letter EA 197 place Yeno'am among Syrian sites, the latter among
sites restricted to southern Bashan (Na'aman 1977: 168–169; Ahituv
1984: 199–200. Furthermore, as Na'aman 1977: 170 notes, the
involvement of Pella in the coalition supports an east bank location
for Yeno'am. The dispatching of troops to Beth Shan and Hamath
undoubtedly served to relieve Rehob which lay between them. The
remaining unit was sent to Yeno'am. If Yeno'am was on the east
bank, this action might well have sufficed to solve the problem of
Pella also.

The second Beth Shan stela also belongs to the *iw.tw* report genre,
although the date formula and the phrase *iw.tw r dd n hm.f* are not
preserved:

> On this day [one came to say to his majesty], l.p.h.: "the Apiru of
> the mountain Yarimuta and the Tayaru stand assembling against the
> Asiatics of Ruhma" *KRI* I, 16:8–9.

The king expresses his outrage a typical response in this genre and
dispatches troops to deal with the problem. They accomplish their
mission in two days time *KRI* I, 16:9–14.

The sites mentioned in this stela cannot be pinpointed. Yarimuta
is normally equated with the Biblical Jarmuth which lay in the hills
of Issachar, northwest of Beth Shan Aharoni 1979: 179; Ahituv
1984: 122. Ruhma is assumed to have been located in the same
vicinity Aharoni 1979: 179; Ahituv 1984: 168.

Both stelae from Beth Shan display a feature typical of *iw.tw* re-
ports – the king himself is not involved in the combat. The king is de-
picted as fully in control of the situation and directing the action,
but not present for the battle. Spalinger 1982: 20 suggests that the
terse *iw.tw* report was developed to record just such minor military man-
euvers, although it was occasionally employed in the description of

pharaonic campaigns, especially as a part of a longer narrative or as a caption for a battle relief.

This feature of the *iw.tw* reports in general and the Beth Shan stelae in particular calls into question the association of the first Beth Shan stela with the middle register of the Karnak battle reliefs. The reliefs seem to suggest Seti I's presence at the battle of Yeno'am, which is portrayed as occurring during a major campaign, not a minor military engagement.

Spalinger notes that Seti's presence at Yeno'am in the Karnak reliefs could be interpreted as more symbolic than historical:

> The scene at Karnak is, of course, fraudulent—Seti was not actually in the battle—but to be fair it must be added that Seti did defeat Yenoam, if not in person Spalinger 1979: 31 .

Since the army acted as an extension of the pharaoh's strong arm, their victory was his victory. Or to put it another way, the king, in the person of his army, defeated the enemies of Egypt at Yeno'am.

Nevertheless, nothing in the Beth Shan stela suggests that the events described there were part of a larger campaign, as the Karnak reliefs imply. This silence may be due in part to the extreme terseness of the stela, characteristic of the *iw.tw* genre, which does not allow the communication of information about the broader circumstances.

Toponym Lists

The third piece of textual evidence comprises the toponym lists of Seti I. In the New Kingdom, the motif of the king smiting the heads of his enemies was combined with a stylized recording of places that had been conquered Redford 1992: 143 . The place names were written inside castellated oval rings, representing the city-walls of the site. Projecting above the ring were the upper body and head of the captured ruler with his arms bound behind him Simons 1937: 6 .

The historical significance of toponym lists is a matter of debate Redford 1992: 143, n. 61 . At the very least, the historical significance varies from list to list. For instance, whereas the Karnak lists of Thutmose III are accepted as reflecting the itineraries of his military campaigns, some later lists were copied from those of Thutmose III Simons 1937: 14 . Even when a list is independent from others, it may represent general knowledge of a region's geography, rather than military activity *per se* Ahituv 1984: 11 .

The relevant lists of Seti I are Simons' 1937 lists XIII XVI, plus the list on the southern sphinx at Qurneh, which was not included in Simons' catalogue Ahituv 1984: 16 17 . Lists XIII and XIV were carved on the western and eastern sides, respectively, of the northern outer wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the same wall that bears the battle reliefs. List XV was on the socle of the northern sphinx at Qurneh; the parallel list from the southern sphinx was numbered XVa by Ahituv (1984: 16). List XVI is very short. Originally comprising two sections of six names each, it was engraved on the bases of two sphinxes in Seti's temple at Abydos.

The two Karnak lists have a complicated compositional history. Simons 1937: 57 58 divides the two almost identical lists into five groups of toponyms. The first group comprises a set of African toponyms copied from Thutmose III's great African list. There follows a list of the "Peoples of the Nine Bows," the traditional enemies of Egypt. The third group consists of Asiatic toponyms, drawn primarily from central Syria. The fourth group is another set of African place names. Finally there is a group of palimpsest name rings. These were long thought to have originally contained Asiatic toponyms that were replaced with African ones Simons 1937: 55-56 , but thanks to the work of the University of Chicago Epigraphic Survey 1986: 49 50 , the priority of the African names has been established.

> The original Nubian names had been filled with a layer of plaster and the later toponyms cut into this medium. Since the later version would be cut into the stone only where the tip of the chisel penetrated through the plaster, the traces of this version are fainter than those of the earlier, which had not been erased before it was changed Epigraphic Survey 1986: 50 .

The recut Levantine toponyms include places mentioned in Seti I's first Beth Shan stela and Karnak battle reliefs.

In this last group, Lists XIII and XIV differ only in their state of preservation. Both originally contained seventeen toponyms in the same order: Pella, Hamath, Beth Shan, Yeno'am, (?), Acco, Kumidi, Ullaza, Tyre, Uzu, Beth Anath, (?), (?), Qader, Kiriath Anat. Hazor, and Raphia. Several of these places are known from the other sources for the history of Seti's involvement in Asia: the first four names appear in the first Beth Shan stela; Yeno'am and Qader occur in the middle register of the Karnak reliefs; although not mentioned

specifically in the reliefs, Acco, Tyre, and Uzu are all Lebanese port
cities, corresponding to the Lebanese scene in the middle register
(Spalinger 1979: 38).

These correspondences have led scholars to suggest that the fifth
group of toponyms reflects the northern wars of Seti I (Helck 1971:
191 192; Spalinger 1979: 33; Murnane 1990: 44 45). The recutting
of the name rings, which incorporates toponyms not included in pre-
vious lists, indicates at the very least that this group was not simply
stereotypical, but was expressive of a contemporary reality, military
or otherwise.

Clearly we cannot simply string together the toponyms to produce
an itinerary for a pharaonic campaign. Although the names reflect
some grouping, they jump from inland to coastal and from north-
ern to southern regions and vice versa. Spalinger 1979: 38, suggests
that "the Egyptian scribes have combined those places met or con-
quered by the Pharaoh as recorded on register II and probably III
at Karnak." He is then able to utilize the topographical list to the-
orize that the top register of the battle relief contained scenes of
coastal Amurru, specifically Ullaza and Sumur (Spalinger 1979:
32–33).

On the other hand, since the lists do not produce a straightfor-
ward line of march, they may not be so directly connected to the
reliefs. The toponyms may, instead, derive from a variety of con-
tacts with the region, not all of them military. The grouping of Pella,
Hamath, Beth Shan, and Yeno'am undoubtedly stems from the events
recorded in the stela. The other groupings may have similar origins
in minor rebellions, or they may be based on tribute lists or scribal
itineraries. A list of defeated cities could have been supplemented
with other known toponyms from the same region in order to fill
the required number of rings.

The Qurneh sphinx lists show signs of this type of scribal activ-
ity. In both lists (KRI I, 33 35), the fifteenth through seventeenth
rings bear the names of Pella, Beth Shan, and Yeno'am. Other
Levantine toponyms from the Karnak lists also appear, e.g. Acco,
Tyre, and Beth Anat. But as Redford (1992: 143, n. 61) points out,
the Qurneh lists include "impossible sites" like Cyprus and Assyria
and duplicate some toponyms. Not only are Paba(n)hi (nos. 34 and
40) and Takhsy (nos. 33 and 35) repeated on the northern sphinx,
but Pella appears in both the thirteenth and fifteenth rings on the
southern sphinx (KRI I, 34:14).

Finally, mention should be made of the short list from Seti's tem-
ple at Abydos (Simons 1937: 146). Originally comprising twelve
toponyms, the list preserves the names of six places, all in Asia. On
the base of the northern sphinx are carved the names of Yeno'am,
Pella, Beth Anat, and Kiriath Anab. On the base of the southern
sphinx, only two names can be read, Beth Shan and Tyre. Although
the list includes three sites from the first Beth Shan stela, they are
not grouped together. If Na'aman and Ahituv are correct in locat-
ing Yeno'am east of the Jordan, then the juxtaposition of the two
may reflect no more than their geographical proximity. It certainly
need not imply a military itinerary that proceeded from Yeno'am
to Tyre by way of Beth Anat and Beth Shan.

Spalinger (1979) attempts to reconstruct Seti's northern wars by
linking all of the sources into a seamless whole. According to his
interpretation, the east side reliefs at Karnak represent a single royal
tour conducted during the first year of Seti I's reign. The king
marched north from Sile to Lebanon, at the least, and perhaps as
far as Ullaza in coastal Amurru, based on the evidence of the toponym
lists. In places where he met with opposition, such as southern Pa-
lestine and Yeno'am, Seti forcefully asserted his sovereignty. In places
where his overlordship was acknowledged, such as Lebanon, he
accepted the submission of the princes and received their tribute.

Unfortunately, the weight of evidence does not support this hypoth-
esis. The lower register of the Karnak reliefs shows every sign of
representing a complete account in and of itself. Like all of the other
registers, it includes scenes of the king's triumphal return to Egypt
and the presentation of tribute to the god Amun (Gaballa 1976:
103). Broadhurst (1989: 231–232) shows that the positioning of the
king and his chariot was a carefully conceived artistic device to bring
closure to the register. Furthermore, whereas the captives in the bot-
tom register comprise both Shasu and people of Retenu, those in
the middle register are all from Retenu. The absence of any refer-
ence to Shasu in the summation at the conclusion of the middle
register suggests that the two were separate campaigns (Gaballa 1976:
103; Broadhurst 1989: 233).

In sum, the evidence suggests that Seti I made a series of cam-
paigns to the Levant, the first two of which were concerned with
affairs in Palestine. Apparently Seti's hold over the cities of Palestine
was tenuous at first and had to be forcefully asserted. The events
described in the Beth Shan stelae were probably only minor

skirmishes, representing the standard attempts of vassals to test the resolve and abilities of a newly-crowned king. The lower and middle registers of the Karnak reliefs illustrate the sort of royal tour envisioned by Spalinger, albeit divided into distinct campaigns. The first tour may have taken Seti no further than southern Palestine, but on a subsequent campaign he marched as far as Lebanon, collecting tribute and compelling the submission of the local princes. At other times, these functions may have been carried out by subordinates acting on the king's behalf.

REIGN OF RAMESSES II

Political and Military History

The primary military/political problem facing Ramesses II in Asia was the boundary between the Egyptian and Hittite spheres of influence in Syria. Consequently, the majority of this king's military activity in the Levant was confined to Syria. Only a few skirmishes in Palestine were recorded.

A poorly-preserved stela dated to year four of Ramesses II found at Nahr el-Kelb (*KRI* II, 1) implies that Egyptian troops were active in the region between Byblos and Beirut during that year. Since only the date formula and royal titulary are extant, we cannot be certain whether the text recorded an event from a major pharaonic campaign or a minor military engagement conducted without the king's personal involvement.

The following year Ramesses II led his troops into battle at Kadesh on the Orontes with near disastrous results. The Egyptian army was almost routed by the Hittites. The Egyptian accounts of the event (*KRI* II, 2-147) suggest that Ramesses himself saved the day, rushing into the fray, turning the momentum of combat, and rallying his troops. The personal valor of the king allowed his army to regroup and salvage a stalemate on the battlefield. Nevertheless, the outcome was really a Hittite victory. Despite the positive interpretation given to the battle in the various Egyptian accounts, the Egyptians had, in fact, failed to achieve their goals. Ramesses was unable to wrest control of Kadesh from the Hittites, and the Egyptian army retreated back to the Nile Valley.

The disaster at Kadesh appears to have destabilized the pharaonic holdings throughout Syria-Palestine. A topographical list from the Ramesseum (*KRI* II, 148-149) records the names of eighteen cities in southern Syria and northern Palestine captured by the king. Two sets of battle reliefs at Karnak depict Ramesses II engaged in combat in the Levant. The one on the west wall of the Cour de la Cachette places him at Ashkelon; the other, on the south wall of the great Hypostyle Hall, mentions Akko and several sites in southern Syria. A set of reliefs on the east wall of the Court of Ramesses II in the Luxor temple expands this king's sphere of operations to include the east bank territory of Moab.

The Ramesseum list is unique in its presentation (Simons 1937: 10-11). Instead of placing the toponyms inside schematized name rings, scenes of a fortress with captives being led away were labeled *dmi ḥf' n ḥm.f* GN "town which his majesty captured, GN." In most cases, the phrase *m ḥ3t-sp 8* "in regnal year eight" was inserted before the toponym. The beginning of the bandeau text is lost, but the extant portion contains only stereotyped rhetoric declaring the king's ability to establish his boundaries where he wishes, to quell rebels, and to pacify every land (*KRI* II, 148:15).

Three of the toponyms are completely lost, and several of the others are incompletely preserved. We can read only nine with any degree of certainty. Of these, three can be located in Upper Galilee (Aharoni 1979: 181: Karpu[na] on Mount Beth Anat (no. 5; *KRI* II, 148:10-11), Qana no. 6; *KRI* II, 148:11), and Marom no. 12; *KRI* II, 149:3). The latter two are specifically stated to have been captured in year eight.

None of the other portrayals of Asiatic campaigns offers any chronological clues. The preserved texts accompanying the battle reliefs do not happen to include any references to regnal years. Nonetheless, they supplement the picture of the loss of respect and control which the Egyptians suffered in the aftermath of Kadesh. The various reliefs testify to the use of military force to reassert Egyptian hegemony throughout the region.

Some scholars deny the occurrence of a rebellion in southern Palestine, so close to the Nile Valley (Stager 1985; Yurco 1986; Singer 1988). At issue is the attribution of a set of reliefs from the Karnak temple, one scene of which depicts the pharaoh doing battle with Ashkelon (Porter and Moss 1960 II: 132-133). The reliefs have traditionally been ascribed to Ramesses II, but Yurco (1986)

See Yurco's article for reasons

She thinks it's Ram II

proposes redating the scenes to the reign of Merneptah. Yurco detects traces of three royal names in the accompanying texts; the most deeply incised were those of Merneptah, over which were carved the names of Amenmesse and Seti II. No vestige of Ramesses II's names was identified. Yurco connects the reliefs to the Encomium of Merneptah, also known as the "Israel Stela." He notes that the stela text mentions three cities and one non-urban people—Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno'am, and Israel—and the relief depicts four battle scenes, three before cities, of which one is labeled Ashkelon, and the fourth in the open countryside.

Nevertheless, the evidence for the traditional ascription of the reliefs to Ramesses II is extremely strong. The scenes flank a copy of Ramesses' treaty with the Hittites, and the band of text below the cornice bears the name of Ramesses II. The names of secondary characters also fit more easily into the earlier reign. Prince Khaemwaset and the royal horse team *mry-imn n ihw* . . . "Beloved of Amun of the stable of . . ." are otherwise known only from the court of Ramesses II Redford 1986b: 194–196; Sourouzian 1989: 150. Stylistically the reliefs in general and the representation of the king in particular correspond better to the reign of Ramesses II Le Saout 1982: 229; Sourouzian 1989: 150; contra Yurco 1986: 207, n. 24. It is worth noting that the closest parallels that Yurco 1986: 200–201, 208 could find for some of the scenes and texts are from Ramesses' Beit el-Wali temple.

Against this evidence, Yurco (1986: 205–206) develops a complicated line of reasoning. His reading forces him to posit a Khaemwaset II, named after his maternal grandfather, for whom we have no other attestation. He explains the text below the cornice by the palimpsest character of the scenes to the left of the treaty text which were carved over a depiction of the battle of Kadesh. Not only the individual scenes were usurped, but the entire wall, which was originally intended for Ramesses II. For some reason, the section of wall to the right of the treaty was never so used.

These weaknesses in the argument for redating the reliefs lead to the conclusion that the attribution of the scenes to Ramesses II must be maintained. The failure to discern traces of his names in the usurped cartouches may point to no more than the thoroughness of the original erasure or the effects of three subsequent usurpations Sourouzian 1989: 150. Unlikely as it may seem, it would appear that after the battle of Kadesh, Ramesses II was faced with a rebellion of his vassals in southern Palestine.

Other battle reliefs of Ramesses II, including one on the south wall of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Porter and Moss 1960 II: 57–58 and one on the east wall of the Court of Ramesses II in the Luxor temple (Kitchen 1964), demonstrate the widespread nature of the unrest. Most of the labeled towns in the Karnak relief *KRI* II, 164–167 are located in the vicinity of Kadesh, but scenes also place the king at sites along the coast, such as Akko and Karmin Gaballa 1976: 108–109. Few of the toponyms are preserved in the Luxor relief, but the coastal city of Karmin can be read in a scene in the upper register, and in the lower register appear the towns of *bwtrt* in Moab and *tbniw*, which Kitchen 1964: 53–55 equated with Moabite Dibon. Although Ahituv 1972 has disputed the identification of Dibon, the explicit reference to Moab *mwib* as the location of *bwtrt*—which Kitchen (1964: 64–67) has proposed to identify with Raba Batora—indicates that Ramesses II did conduct a campaign on the east bank of the Jordan. The name *mwib* also occurs in a short topographical list on the base of a colossus of Ramesses II at Luxor Simons, list XXII.

The evidence of the battle reliefs suggests extensive fallout from the near defeat at Kadesh. Although few details can be reconstructed, it appears that a spirit of rebellion swept through Egypt's Asiatic holdings from southern Syria all the way to southern Palestine. The only date which can be attached to these events is regnal year eight, when according to the Ramesseum toponym list, Egypt reasserted its sovereignty in southern Syria and northern Palestine. Whether the other campaigns also occurred within a few years of the battle of Kadesh cannot be determined with any certainty.

In line with the tendency to interpret stelae as indicators of pharaonic campaigns, the Beth Shan stela of Ramesses II (*KRI* II, 150–151) has often been taken as evidence of another Palestinian campaign in regnal year eighteen. The basalt stela was found in secondary context in the Lower Level V northern temple at Beth Shan, where it had stood beside the "first" Beth Shan stela of Seti I and a statue of Ramesses III. Lower Level V was destroyed late in the tenth century B.C.E. James 1966: 34–37, 153. Since the stela itself does not refer to a Palestinian campaign, the monument might have been erected for some other purpose, such as a renewal of the Egyptian garrison at Beth Shan.

In fact, the singularity of the text of the stela requires an explanation. It does not contain a *iw.tw* report or any other "historical" account. The main text opens with the expected date formula:

h3t-sp 18, 3bd 4 prt sw 1 "regnal year eighteen, month four of *prt*, day one." The full titulary of Ramesses II follows, along with an extended passage of laudatory epithets. Contrary to what one might expect, however, this rhetorical section continues almost to the bottom of the stela. The only thing following the epithets is a short topographical list of eight toponyms drawn from the Nine Bows, the traditional enemies of Egypt.

Although the text does not refer explicitly to the occasion of its erecting, the epithets have a strong military flavor. Their theme is the king as protector. Their militarism seems appropriate to their location in a permanent garrison site.

First the king's military prowess is applauded *KRI* II, 150:12 151:5. Throughout this section only general terms for Syria-Palestine, *stt*, *rtnw*, and *'3mw*, are used. Nevertheless, the phrasing of the last part of this section echoes the language of Ramesses' Kadesh inscriptions and must have been intended as a reference to the events described in those texts:

> *nhm mš.f šdw t-nt-htr.f iw h3swt nb nšn.ti n.s m tcm-zen iw.f w'w hr-tp.f nn ky hn'.f* *KRI* II, 151:3-5

> Who rescues his army and saves his chariotry when every foreign land is enraged; who makes them into non-existent ones. He is alone on his behalf. There is not another with him.

This description of the king as the savior of the Egyptian forces is very similar to a passage from the Kadesh Poem:[3] *šdy.k p3y.k mš' t3y.k t-nt-htr* "You save your army and your chariotry" P240. Even more striking are the last two phrases, which recur in all of the Kadesh accounts. P82 reads *iw.f w'w hr-tp.f n ky hn'.f* "He is alone on his behalf; there is not another with him." With the exception of differences in the use of nouns and pronouns, these same words are repeated a few lines later in the Poem P112, in the Bulletin text B103, and in a Relief caption R19. Anyone reading these words would have to be reminded of the king's valor at Kadesh.

See Gardiner 1960: 1 6 and von der Way 1984 for a discussion of the accounts of the battle. The three accounts are traditionally referred to as the Poem, the Bulletin, and the Reliefs. The conventional division of these texts into numbered subsections prefixed with the first letter of the name of the account P1, P2, etc., for the Poem; B1 for the Bulletin; and R1 for the Reliefs developed by C. Kuentz 1928 is utilized in this discussion to refer to the same section of text as it occurs in the parallel versions.

After the clearly militaristic epithets, Ramesses is described as a protector in much more general terms:

> *ii n 'š n.f nhm sud šd bg3 hh n h3rt ndt hr nmh wšb n ng3w mniu kny m s'nh n tmw* *KRI* II, 151:5 7

> Who comes to one who summons him; who rescues the fearful; who saves the shipwrecked; husband of the widow; protector of the orphan; who responds to the one who lacks; valiant shepherd as sustenance for everyone.

The image of the pharaoh as shepherd does not belong to the standard set of royal epithets, but does have parallels. During the New Kingdom, especially from the late Eighteenth Dynasty on, this image was used to express the concept of the king as the protector of his people. In particular, the royal shepherd is said to be watchful *rs-tp* and valiant *kny* and to sustain/give life *s'nh* Müller 1961: 136 138.

After these uncommon epithets, the text returns to the theme of the king as military protector, but in more general and increasingly metaphorical terms. He is an effective wall for Egypt, *sbty pw nmh n kmt* *KRI* II, 151:7. He is likened to a shooting star, a falcon, a lion, a fire, and a fierce wind. Although there is one reference to Asiatics *'3mw*, this section testifies to Ramesses' mastery in the broadest sense, culminating in the phrase *nn ir ir.n.f hr h3swt nb* "that which he did has not been done in any foreign land" *KRI* II, 151:12.

The final epithet is especially appropriate for a stela erected in a garrison: *bw nmh n mš'.f hrw hrw* "an excellent place for his army on the day of battle" *KRI* II, 151:14. This image, common in New Kingdom military texts, closes off the inscription with a final note of encouragement for soldiers stationed far from home.

The absence of any historical account argues against the theory that the Beth Shan stela was commissioned on the occasion of a pharaonic campaign. The contrast in tone and content between this stela and those of Seti I erected on the same site is only too striking. The carefully developed image of the king as protector of Egypt in general and the army in particular suggests instead that the stela should be associated with the presence of a permanent garrison at Beth Shan. The audience of the inscription was not a conquered populace, but Egyptian troops stationed in Asia.

The political situation in Syria-Palestine eventually stabilized, as evidenced by the treaty which Ramesses II concluded with the Hittites in regnal year twenty-one. At that time the post-Kadesh state of affairs was formalized, ushering in an era of relative peace. In fact

there is no clear evidence for Egyptian military activity in the Levant after year ten, the date of a stela from Nahr el-Kelb on the Phoenician coast (*KRI* II, 149). Some sort of truce could well have been in effect from Ramesses' tenth year on, at least in the sense that the participants had resigned themselves to the status quo.

Administration

With the reign of Ramesses II, the written sources begin to provide data about the system by which the Levant was governed. Two facts emerge from these sources. 1) Palestine was administered through a dual system consisting of both pharaonic officials and vassal princes. 2) The Egyptians employed two types of officials for provincial affairs: circuit officials and royal envoys.

Dual System of Administration

There is one text from the reign of Ramesses II that clearly indicates the existence of a dual system—the Kadesh Bulletin.

Kadesh Bulletin Text

The Kadesh "Bulletin" or "Official Report" (*KRI* II, 102–124) was inscribed on the walls of several of Ramesses II's temples in close proximity to the corresponding battle reliefs, usually as an extended caption to the scene of the camp (Gardiner 1960: 3; Gaballa 1976: 114). The portions of the text relevant to our discussion, B54–B71 (*KRI* II, 113–117), are preserved in four exemplars, two in the Luxor temple—on the north face of the pylon and on the east and south-east walls of the Court of Ramesses II, one in the Ramesseum—on the rear face of the north tower of Pylon I, and one at Abu Simbel—on the north wall of the great hall.[2] As Spalinger (1985) has shown, these exemplars can be divided into two families, one comprising the two Luxor copies and the other the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel copies.

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[2] See *KRI* II, 2 for references to the extant copies of the Bulletin. A few phrases of this section are also preserved in another version from Luxor, a palimpsest text on the exterior of the south wall of the Hypostyle Hall, but it does not include any variants which would bear upon this discussion.

The passage B54–B71 (*KRI* II, 113–117) of the Kadesh Bulletin text points to a mixed system of administration in which both local rulers and Egyptians officials shared responsibility. In the context of a war council, Egyptian officials and local rulers are held jointly accountable for the lack of accurate military intelligence. This section can be subdivided into two speeches: the king's complaint against the paired groups of officials (B54–B67) and the officers' condemnation of them (B68–71).

The section opens with the king complaining that the daily reports which he has been receiving state that the Hittite ruler is in Aleppo, having fled before the approaching Egyptians, information that he has just learned is false:

> *ptr irr.i sdm m t3y wnwt m-di p3y h3ptyw 2 n p3 hrw n ht3 r dd p3 hrw hsy n ht3 iw hn‘ h3swt ‘3wt nty hn‘.f m rmt ssmwt knw mi p3 s‘ ptr st ‘h‘w ‘3pw n h3 kds t3 ist iw hw rh n3y.i imyw-r3 h3swt hn‘ n3y.i wrw dd n.n st iw* (B60–B67)

Behold I have heard this hour from the two scouts of the fallen one of Khatti that the doomed fallen one of Khatti has come with the numerous lands which are with him, consisting of people and horses as numerous as the sand. Behold they are standing hidden behind Kadesh the old, yet my overseers of foreign lands and my vassal chiefs are unable to say to us: "They have come."

Then the officers of the war council weigh in with their own condemnation:

> *dd.n.srw nty m-b3h hm.f wsb.sn n [ntr] nfr r-nty bt3 ‘3 p3 irw n3 imyw-r3 h3swt hn‘ n3 wrw n pr ‘3 ‘nh wd3 snb p3 tm dit smty.tw n.sn p3 hrw n ht3 m p3 nty nb sw im* (B68–B71)

The officers who were before his majesty spoke and answered the good [god]: "That which the overseers of foreign lands and the chiefs of the pharaoh, l.p.h., did, not to cause that one track down for them the fallen one of Khatti wherever he was, is a great crime."

This account of a war council cannot, of course, be taken as historical in the sense of a factual record of a meeting which actually took place between Ramesses and his officials, civilian and military. The Bulletin is not the "official report" of the campaign, as Gardiner 1960: 2–4 recognizes. Although excerpts from the daybook account frame the text as a whole, the war council forms part of the narrative elaboration (Spalinger 1983: 162–163). In fact the scene of the pharaoh addressing his officers and their reply is a common literary *topos* in New Kingdom war reports (Spalinger 1983: 110).

On the other hand, although conscious of itself as a literary document, the text contains unconscious historical information. The literary *topoi* are fleshed out with details drawn from the real world of the author, and, with care, we can use these details to reconstruct that world.

Thus, whether or not Ramesses met with his officers on the eve of the battle of Kadesh to discuss the shortcomings of the intelligence-gathering operations, this section of the Bulletin sheds light on the Egyptian system of provincial governance. The text unequivocally places responsibility for intelligence functions in the hands of two groups of officials: pharaonic functionaries—termed alternately *imyw-r3 h3swt* "overseers of foreign lands" and *imy-r3 iw'yt* "overseers of garrison-hosts"—and local vassal princes, *wrw n n3 n t3w n pr-'3* "chiefs of the lands of pharaoh." Both ought to have known the whereabouts of the Hittite forces and to have reported that information to the king.

This pairing of Egyptian and local officials is one indicator that the vassal system initiated under the Eighteenth Dynasty was still in place. Total responsibility for the affairs of the region had not been shifted to Egyptian military commanders or administrators, but was shared with the local city-rulers.

It would be wise not to make too much of the two different titles designating the pharaonic officials. The reason that the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel versions of the text once refer to them as *imyw-r3 iw'yt* "overseers of garrison-hosts" is unclear. No obvious mechanism for a simple scribal error exists. The signs are not easily confused, nor are the words similar in sound. On the other hand, a rationale for the deliberate interchanging of the titles is not immediately forthcoming either. No additional documentation supports Gardiner's (1960: 33) interpretation of the variant as evidence that overseer of garrison-hosts and overseer of foreign lands were virtually equivalent terms. The two titles do not co-occur in the titularies of Egyptian officials, at least in the Ramesside period.

Whatever the title borne by the Egyptians, the Kadesh Bulletin text indicates the existence of a dual system of administration, involving both pharaonic functionaries and vassal princes. These two types of officials shared responsibility for the governance of the region. In particular, the Bulletin testifies to their role as gatherers and communicators of information. According to the officers' speech, they were not expected merely to pass along information which came to

them, but also to function as an intelligence agency, taking the necessary steps to acquire accurate data and to transmit their findings to the royal court. A much earlier text from the reign of Thutmose III, in which the overseer of northern lands Amenemope refers to himself as "the eyes of the king of Upper Egypt and ears of the king of Lower Egypt in doomed Retenu" (Urk. IV 1508), may refer to this same function.

Circuit Officials

A few hints exist as to the way in which this dual system functioned. The use of circuit officials and the functions performed by those officials are alluded to in the Aphek letter and in a relief from the Luxor temple forecourt. The names and titles of some of the circuit officials are preserved in private inscriptions.

Aphek Letter

The presence of a cuneiform letter at Aphek from an official of Ugarit to the Egyptian Haya suggests continued use of the circuit system introduced in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Since the other finds from Aphek do not suggest that the site functioned as an imperial center, we ought probably to conclude that the letter caught up with Haya while he was passing through on his circuit.

The contents of the Aphek letter (Owen 1981) point to the role of arbitrator exercised by Egyptian officials. In the letter, Takuhlina, *šakin mati* "governor" of Ugarit, appeals to the Egyptian Haya to intervene in a dispute over a grain transaction. He claims that payment was never received for a delivery of wheat to another city. The name of the other city is broken, but may well be Jaffa (Owen 1981: 12). Takuhlina requests that Haya force the other party to restore the grain.

Takuhlina is known from a number of other sources and was the second highest ranking official in the Ugaritic court, second only to the prince (Singer 1983: 6-18). From the various sources, Singer (1983: 18) extrapolates a career of two decades in the third quarter of the thirteen century B.C.E. for Takuhlina and suggests a date of approximately 1230 B.C.E. for the letter.

Haya is more difficult to identify since his name is a common hypocorism borne by a number of Ramesside officials. Singer 1983:

18-23) equates him with Huy, viceroy of Kush under Ramesses II, who was part of the entourage which accompanied the Hittite princess from Hatti to Egypt (KRI III, 80:1). Among Huy's other titles are ḥry pdt m ṯr "troop commander in Sile" and wpwty nsw ḥr ḫ3st nb "royal envoy to every foreign land" (KRI III, 79:16). Unfortunately there is nothing in the Aphek letter would allow us to prove or disprove this hypothesis. The Akkadian epithet by which Haya is addressed, rabû "great one," is no more than a general honorific which might be applied to any superior (Redford 1990: 8). Nevertheless, whether Haya is to be identified with Huy or not, the Aphek letter indicates that Egyptian officials continued to be responsible for settling disputes between vassals as they had in the Amarna period.

Luxor Relief

A relief from the forecourt of the Luxor temple (Porter and Moss 1960 II: 308), which records the presentation of tribute (inw) to Ramesses II by his officials, illustrates the use of parallel systems of administration for the taxation of Nubia and Asia. The relief depicts the ceremonial procession of princes before the king during the feast of Opet. In the accompanying text, every sphere of state administration appears to be represented, as are all of the regions from which Egypt derived income:

> imyw-r3 niwt ṯ3ty smrw nsw bi3tyw ʿḥ imy-r3 prwy ḥd nbw imy-r3 mšʿ imy-r3 mnfyt ḥryw pdt ḥrpw imy-r3 ḫ3swt rst mḥtyt imyw-r3 ḫtmw imyw-r3 r3-ḫ3wt itrw imyw-r3 prw ḥtp ḥrpw ḥk3w ḥwt imyw-r3 ʿb imyw-r3 wḥmt imyw-r3 šwt nšmt nw t3 mri ḥrp nstyw šmʿw t3-mḥw ḥ3tyw-ʿ imy-r3 ḥmw-nṯr iww m w3ḥ tp ḥr imw.sn (KRI II, 608:9-11 2)

The viziers, royal companions, treasurers of the palace, overseers of the two houses of silver and gold, military officers, army officers, troop commanders, controllers, overseers of southern and northern lands, fort officers, officers of river-mouths, stewards, controller of controllers, rulers of domains, overseers of horn, overseers of hoof, overseers of feather and scale of Ta-mery, controller of the two thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt, mayors, and overseer of priests have come bowing the head and bearing their tribute.

Redford recognizes the following five-fold organizational logic to the list:

> 1. officials of the central administration, 2. military officers, 3. administrators of conquered territory and border points, 4. officials of agriculture and the home townships, 5. ecclesiastical functionaries (Redford 1990: 21).

The overseers of southern and northern lands, responsible for the taxes of Nubia and all the products of Asia (b3kwt nw t3-sty m3ʿ nb n ḫ3swt stt), are grouped with the administrators of border points (imyw-r3 ḫtmw "fort officers" and imyw-r3 r3 ḫ3wt itrw "officers of river-mouths."

The evidence from Nubia suggests that an overseer of southern lands was responsible for the collection of taxes from that region. Two officials bore the title imy-r3 ḫ3swt rsyt: the viceroy of Nubia and his deputy. It is the latter, the troop commander of Kush (ḥry pdt n k3), who organized the annual delivery of tribute (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: 7; see papyrus Koller 3:3 5:4). Both the troop commander and the viceroy were royal appointees whose main residence was in Egypt, although their duties must have taken them to Nubia for extended periods (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991: 6-7).

The combined reference to the overseers of southern and northern lands in the Luxor relief indicates the existence of a parallel system in Asia. Although the text should not be taken as a historical record of the individuals who actually presented themselves before the king at a particular celebration of the feast of Opet, it does reveal the theoretical ideal. The ceremony of presentation required, at least in theory, the participation of all the officials responsible for the collection of taxes. For the tribute of Nubia and Asia that meant the overseers of southern and northern lands, respectively.

Overseers of Northern Lands under Ramesses II

Two overseers of northern lands are attested from the reign of Ramesses II, Pen-reʿ and Nuy. Unfortunately, little is known about them beyond their titularies. Their names and titles occur in private inscriptions which do not disclose any details of their duties or accomplishments.

Two stelae, three statues, and a funerary cone attest to the official Pen-reʿ (KRI III, 269-271). Two of the statues are from the Wadjmose Chapel in West Thebes, and one of the stelae is from Koptos. The other objects are unprovenanced. Although his most frequently occurring titles are imy-r3 k3t m t3 ḥwt wsrm3ʿtrʿ stpnrʿ mry imn "overseer of works of the house of Ramesses II" and wr n md3w "chief of the Medjay," Pen-reʿ also bore the titles imy-r3 ḫ3swt ḥr ḫ3st mḥtyt "overseer of foreign lands for the northern land," imy-r3 ḫ3swt n ḫr "overseer of the lands of Khor (Syria-Palestine)," ḥry pdt "troop commander,"

kdn tp n ḥm.f "first charioteer of his majesty," and *wpwty nsw r t3 nb* "royal envoy to every land."

Nuy is known only through a single stela *KRI* III, 239–240 . His full titulary is *imy-r3 ḫ3swt ḥr ḫ3swt mḥtyt* "overseer of foreign lands for the northern lands," *wpwty nsw r ḫ3swt nb* "royal envoy to every foreign land," and *kdn tp n ḥm.f* "first charioteer of his majesty."

The precise placement of the *imy-r3 ḫ3st* within the Egyptian hierarchy is unclear. Some overseers of foreign lands, including the viceroys and troop commanders of Kush, bore the honorific title fan-bearer on the right of the king Reisner 1920: 76–77, 80–82; *KRI* III, 262; V, 254 . The titularies of others, including Pen-re' and Nuy, do not incorporate any markers of high status. With the exception of the viceroys and Nuy, every overseer of foreign lands was also a troop commander *(ḥry pdt* Reisner 1920: 76; Petrie 1907: pl. 31; *KRI* III, 262, 269–271; V, 154; VI, 28 . These facts suggest that Pen-re' and Nuy ranked no higher than the second level official in Nubia, the troop commander of Kush, and perhaps slightly lower.

In sum, the limited data permits only a general outline of the dual system of provincial administration. Existing evidence suggests that Ramesses II utilized a system of circuit officials and vassal princes comparable to that introduced during the Eighteenth Dynasty. It appears that while Egyptians exercised oversight over the region, collecting taxes and maintaining peace, the everyday affairs of the city-states remained in the hands of the local rulers. Textual evidence for a large-scale replacement of local princes by pharaonic functionaries is lacking, and the Kadesh Bulletin testifies to their ongoing role in the governance of the region.

Royal Envoys

In addition to circuit officials, the Egyptian court frequently dispatched royal envoys or plenipotentiaries to the Levant. Usually termed *wpwtyw nsw* in Egyptian, these officials bore a wide range of responsibilities. Whereas some were no more than simple couriers, others served as royal ambassadors with the power to negotiate on behalf of the crown Vallogia 1976: 266–267 . Because their duties often required them to travel great distances, the *wpwtyw nsw* were usually recruited from the cavalry, although scribes and courtiers could be tapped if their skills were deemed appropriate to the task Vallogia 1976: 252–253 .

According to M. Vallogia (1976: 243), the term "royal envoy" indicated not rank, but function. Unlike markers of rank, *wpwty nsw* was only sporadically included in the titularies of private tomb owners. Therefore it could not have designated the deceased's place in the Egyptian hierarchy, which was clearly and conspicuously recorded. The title sometimes referred to a single event within the individual's career in which he fulfilled a specific royal mission.

We can link with some certainty four individuals bearing the title *wpwty nsw* during the reign of Ramesses II to the administration of Syria-Palestine. In addition to the overseers of northern lands Pen-re' and Nuy described above, the vizier Pre'-hotep, the viceroy of Nubia Huy, and an individual named 'Anty served as emissaries of Ramesses II in Asia. A badly broken Ramesside text in the Louvre, which cannot be precisely dated, preserves the title *wpwty nsw r ḥt3* "royal envoy to Hatti" and the word *s3t.f* "his daughter" Vallogia 1976: 129 . The title is the same as that borne by Pre'-hotep *KRI* III, 65:9 .

The precise functions fulfilled by royal envoys in Syria-Palestine are often unclear, but we can make some conjectures. The mission of 'Anty is indicated by the context in which he is attested, namely the Karnak version of the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III. He is listed among the representatives who negotiated the treaty on behalf of their sovereigns *KRI* II, 226 . Vallogia 1976: 130, 132 has made the plausible suggestion that the two individuals termed "royal envoy to Hatti," the vizier Pre'-hotep and the official whose name is not preserved, may have participated in the negotiations culminating in the marriage of a Hittite princess to Ramesses II. The viceroy Huy described his role in the royal marriage in a stela with the following sequence of epithets: *wpwty nsw ḥr ḫ3st nb ii ḥr ḫty in wrt* "royal envoy to every land, he who came from Hatti bringing the Great One the princess" *KRI* III, 79:16–80:1 . I associate this mission not with Huy's term as viceroy of Nubia, but with his term as troop commander of Sile *ḥry pdt m ṯr* , the title which immediately precedes royal envoy on the stela.

Hittite Correspondence

I find other evidence for the function of royal envoys in the correspondence between the Egyptian and Hittite courts. Since the letters are in Akkadian, the title *wpwty nsw* does not, of course, appear

Instead the officials are termed *mar šipri* "messenger," *šakin* "prefect," *šakin mati* "governor," or *rabû* "great one." In the correspondence, the kings frequently refer to the emissaries who act on their behalf by name. Among those sent by Ramesses II to the Hittite court are the *šakin* Le-e-ia *KUB* III, 34:15; Albright 1946: 14; the messengers A-ni-ia *KUB* III, 62; Edel 1948: 12 13, Ma-an-ia *CTH* 158; Edel 1948: 13–14, and Zi-na-a-pa *CTH* 158; Edel 1948: 21–22; and A-ia *KUB* III, 34:11; Edel 1948: 12, for whom Edel reconstructed the title *[GAL š]a LUGAL* "great one of the king."

The duplicate pair of letters which Ramesses II wrote to the Hittite rulers Hattušili and Paduhepa *KUB* III, 37 and *KUB* III, 57; Edel 1953 provides a rare record of the instructions entrusted to royal envoys. In response to Hattušili's request that he send someone to receive the princess' dowry, Ramesses replies that he has instructed Suta, the *šakin mati* in the city of Ramesses which is in Upe, to do so. Indeed the same instructions have been given to Atah[. . .] the text is broken, the *šakin mati* in the city of Ramesses, which is in Canaan.

Although Redford uses this text as evidence for resident governors in the Nineteenth Dynasty, nowhere does the text depict the officials in a role of governance. As Edel (1953: 43) notes, their function was to take charge of the caravan and to arrange for its safe transport to Egypt. They were in *(ina)* cities of Ramesses, Egyptian centers of operation in the northern and southern Levant, but they were not necessarily permanent residents of those cities. Perhaps the cities of Ramesses represent their locations at the time the text was written or their bases of operation while in the region. Suta may even have been dispatched to Syria for the purpose of facilitating the arrangements for the royal marriage. The letter does not disclose any other details of their assignments.

Much of the confusion about this text in particular and the Egyptian administrative system in general seems to have arisen from efforts to correlate Akkadian titles applied to pharaonic officials in international correspondence with the actual Egyptian titles borne by the officials. The occurrence of the Akkadian term for governor *(šakin mati)* in the letters led scholars in the past to propose the existence of resident governors whose Egyptian title was either *imy-r3 h3swt mhtt* "overseer of northern lands" (Helck 1971: 250–251 or *wpwty nsw* "royal envoy" Edel 1953: 56. More recently scholars have questioned the search for such correlations and the underlying assump-

tions about the precision with which the scribes used Akkadian titles Vallogia 1976: 240; Redford 1992: 201.

An examination of the use of titles in the international correspondence, including the Amarna letters, reveals that titles were applied inconsistently, suggesting that the scribes were unaware of or indifferent to the officials' Egyptian titles. Officials could be referred to as *šakin mati* or as *rabiṣu* "commissioner," with no apparent difference in meaning Edel 1953: 55–56; Helck 1971: 248. Other interchanged terms include *rabû* "great one" and *rabiṣu* Hachmann 1982: 23 24). *šakin mati*, *rabiṣu*, and *rabû* are not synonymous in Akkadian, and neither they nor the rarer West Semitic terms *malik* and *soken* represent translations of an Egyptian title. Rather they are "the closest Canaanite or Akkadian terms the mayors could come up with to designate an Egyptian commissioner whose real rank was wholly unknown to them" (Redford 1992: 201).

The fact that Helck 1971: 250 251 cannot identify a single individual who bore both the Egyptian title *imy-r3 h3swt mhtt* and one of the supposedly equivalent Akkadian titles simply underscores the wrong direction of the entire approach. The search for translational equivalents or correlations between the terms accords too much significance to the Akkadian titles Hachmann 1982: 23; Redford 1990: 5 8. We must be circumspect when using evidence based on titles, since the scribes appear to have applied them very loosely. More reliable data are the descriptions of the functions performed by officials, whatever title they bore.

Suta and his colleague, although referred to with the Akkadian word for governor, are not described as performing functions of governance. Rather, they were delegated the responsibility of safely transporting a caravan. Such a mission could have been entrusted to the circuit officials on their tours of oversight or to some other functionaries appointed as royal envoys for this purpose. The evidence of this one pair of letters is insufficient to allow us to determine the category into which these men fell.

Suta may be one of three officials of similar name attested to by texts from the reign of Ramesses II, or he may be an otherwise unknown individual. All three of the attested officials bore the title *wpwty nsw* Yoyotte 1954. Suta is generally recognized to be a hypocorism of a name compounded of the deity Seth Edel 1948: 19; Yoyotte 1954: 231. Such names were naturally very common during the Nineteenth Dynasty from the reign of Seti I on. Therefore

an identification of Suta with any one of the attested officials can be only tentative.

Evidence of Pharaonic Installations in Palestine

The existence of a pharaonic installation in Jaffa is attested by the set of stone jambs found there (Kaplan 1972: 79, fig. 8). Although the jambs are not complete, the four preserved fragments suggest that they were inscribed with both the prenomen and nomen of Ramesses II. The wings of the bee of *nsw bit* that would have preceded the prenomen appear at the bottom edge of one fragment. Another fragment bears the first part of his nomen *imn*. Since the full nomen is not preserved, it is not possible to tell if the early (*r'-mss*) or late (*r'-msw*) form of his name was used.

The jambs came from Stratum IVb which is dated to the thirteenth century B.C.E. Since only preliminary reports of the excavations at Jaffa have been published to date, the full significance of these jambs cannot be proven. Perhaps they marked the entrance to the granary complex mentioned in Amarna letter EA 294, if that institution still existed in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The finding of a faience foundation deposit tablet at Aphek (Giveon 1978) has been used as evidence for an Egyptian temple at that site. The tablet measures 3.8 × 2.4 × 0.9 cm and is covered with white glaze. It is inscribed in hieroglyphs on both sides. Side A reads: *ntr nfr [wsr]-m3't-[r' stp-n-r'] di 'nh mry wrt hk3w nbt pt [imyt iwn(t)]* "good god, [User]-ma'at-[re' Setep-en-re'], given life. Beloved of the one great-of-magic, lady of the sky, [the one in Dendera]" Side B reads: *s3 r' r'-[mss-mry]-imn mi r' mry 3st wrt mwt ntr [imyt] iwn(t)* "son of Re' Ra[messes] II, like Re'. Beloved of Isis the great, mother of the god, [the one in] Dendera." The ink is very faint, and only traces of the royal name are preserved.

The reading of Dendera is not certain. Only the column hieroglyph *iwn*, which is an element in the names of a number of Egyptian cities, is written. Giveon (1978: 189) proposes to read Dendera, since it has more connections with Isis than any of the other options.

The tablet closely resembles the foundation deposit tablets found at temples in Egypt:

> Foundation tablets bearing the name of the king accompanied by the names of gods by whom the king is beloved are commonly found in the major temples of these gods at Thebes, Abydos, Hierakonpolis, etc. (Giveon 1978: 189).

Since the plaque had no obvious aesthetic value, Giveon (1978: 189–190) suggests that it came to Aphek not by trade, but in its traditional use as a foundation deposit for a temple—in this case for a temple of Isis at Aphek.

Two objections have been raised to Giveon's hypothesis (Wimmer 1990: 1095). If the plaque names the city of Dendera, it ought to have been used in a foundation deposit for a temple in Dendera, not in some distant locality. Secondly, it is not certain that the tablet arrived in Aphek during the reign of Ramesses II. It was found in a tenth-century B.C.E. silo (Giveon 1978: 188 189, n. 1) and could have made its way to the site any time in the more than two centuries separating the accession of Ramesses II and the use of the silo. Wimmer (1990: 1095) suggests that although the tablet was probably not used as a foundation deposit for an Isis temple at Aphek, "it might have been used in some ceremonial context, for which it was, however, not intended originally."

An inscribed potsherd from Beth Shan (Wimmer 1995) may provide more concrete evidence of Egyptian ritual practice in Palestine. The potsherd in question derives from Level VII, suggesting a twentieth dynasty date, although not tying it specifically to the reign of Ramesses II. The short inscription is written in black ink on a small fragment of a large jug. Given the badly worn condition of the sherd, we cannot be certain whether or not the text is complete. Wimmer (1995: 572 573) suggests that the first sign, a seated man holding an axe (Gardiner's sign A14), should be read *hfty*, rather than *sby*, as suggested by Alan Rowe, yielding the following text: *hfty n pr dšrw* "enemy/rebel in/of the house of the red ones."

In either case, the inscription belongs to the category of Egyptian execration texts which were a ritual means of incapacitating the enemies of the state. The enemy in this case is the god Seth; he and his accomplices are closely associated with the color red in Egyptian mythology (Wimmer 1995: 573). The text intends to provide protection against the evil forces potential in the mythological realm. The discovery of such a text at Beth Shan is not particularly surprising since the Egyptians characteristically provided their border zones, as well as their major cities, with such ritual protection (Wimmer 1995: 574).

The uncertainty about the completeness of the text is unfortunate. As Wimmer (1995: 572) notes, if the text is complete, we most likely have an ostracon rather than a fragment of a ritually broken jar. The odds that the jar broke precisely at the right points to preserve

just the already inscribed text in one piece are quite remote. However, if the text was longer, then we could have one clause of a long list of natural and supernatural enemies written on a jar which was smashed as part of the ritual activating the text.

The presence of an execration text at Beth Shan, however short, underlines the significance of the site in the eyes of the Egyptians. It was a border point, a point of contact with the broader world which required ritual, as well as military, protection. Egyptian presence was intentionally long term, not temporary. Here was a piece of Egypt which could not be lost.

REIGN OF MERNEPTAH

Political and Military History

The role played by Merneptah in the Levant is disputed. At issue is the historicity of the Palestinian campaign alluded to in the Encomium of Merneptah, also known as the Israel Stela. The closing section of the text refers to the conquest of several sites in the Levant:

wrw nbw pḥd(w) ḥr ḏd šrm bn wʿ ḥr fȝ(t) tp.f m tȝ psḏt-pḏwt ḥf.n.(i) thnw ḥtȝ ḥtp(w) ḥȝk(w) pȝ knʿn m bin nb inw iskrn mḥw m kḏr ynʿm m irw m tm-wn ysrȝr fkt bn prt.f ḥr ḥprw m ḥȝrt n tȝ-mri tȝw nbw dmḏ st m ḥtpw pȝ nty nb m šmȝ iw tw ḥr wff.f (KRI IV, 19:1–9)

All the chiefs are prostrate, saying, "Shalom;"
Not one lifts his head among the Nine Bows.
Now that I have seized Libya, Hatti is at peace;
PaCanaan has been plundered with every evil.
Ashkelon has been carried off; Gezer has been captured;
Yenoʿam is made into a non-existent one.
Israel is laid waste, his seed is not;
Khor has become a widow because of tȝ-mri.
All lands together are at peace;
Anyone who is restless is subdued (versification after Fecht 1983: 120).

The third colon is difficult. Although the first half of the phrase is usually rendered in the passive—"Tjehenu is seized" (Redford 1986b: 197); "Now that Tjehenu has come to ruin" (Yurco 1986: 189) the *n* in *ḥf n thnw* precludes an analysis of the clause as passive. Ählström and Edelman (1985: 60) opts for a nonverbal construction: "Desolation is for Tehenu." Since Egyptian often omits the

first-person singular subject, it is also possible to see an implied first-person subject: *ḥf.n.i thnw* "Now that I have seized Libya."[3] The second half of this colon is consistently translated "Hatti is pacified" (Ählström and Edelman 1985: 60; Redford 1986b: 197; Yurco 1986: 189). Although technically correct, this translation can lead to mis-understanding. The verb *ḥtp(w)*, the Old Perfective form of *ḥtp*, means "is pacified" in the sense "is at peace," not in the sense "has been forcefully disarmed." Thus Redford's (1986b: 197) complaint against the historicity of the text, that "during his rule there occurred no triumph over Khatte" is unfounded. The text claims only that subsequent to the defeat of Libya, Hatti was in a state of peace.

One of the sticking points in the debate over the historicity of the stela passage is the duplication of the defeat of Ashkelon in the reliefs of Ramesses II at Karnak. Scholars have been almost universally discomfitted by the thought of two conquests of the same city within such a short time period. The usual solution has been to deny the historicity of one of the battles. Yurco (1986) reassigns the Karnak reliefs to Merneptah, thereby eliminating the southern Palestinian campaign of Ramesses II; the same approach is taken by Stager (1985) and Singer (1988). Redford (1986b: 199–200) hypothesizes that the Encomium borrowed the events from Ramesses' reliefs and rejects the poem as a historical source.

Nevertheless, there is no *a priori* reason to reject the double conquest. Redford (1986b: 199) raises the possibility of minor punitive action against one or more Palestinian sites during the reign of Merneptah, even while he dismisses the possibility of a pharaonic campaign involving all of the sites mentioned. Redford would seem to be on the right track. We can interpret the Encomium like we do the two Beth Shan stelae of Seti I, as marking minor rebellions easily quashed by the Egyptian forces, probably without the king's personal involvement. The accession of a new pharaoh undoubtedly prompted some of the vassal princes to test his resolve. The withholding of tribute or the failure to meet other obligations would have resulted in military reprisals which could be counted as victories. Merneptah's use of the epithet "subduer of Gezer" (*wʿf kḏr*) in the Amada stela (KRI IV, 1:9) supports the historicity of at least the one event. It is quite likely that the others also have a historical kernel.

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[3] I am indebted to Betsy Bryan for this suggestion.

Administration

Papyrus Anastasi III is the only extant text from the reign of Merneptah that provides information about the administration of Palestine. The *recto* is dated by its colophon to the third regnal year of Merneptah pAnas III, 7:10-11. Like the other miscellanies, it is a school text comprising a number of sample passages Gardiner 1937: ix-xiv. The opening passage consists of laudatory phrases for the scribe's master, Amenemope. His final two titles are *wpwty nsw n n3 wrw nt h3swt n hr s3ʿ m tr r iwp* "royal envoy to the chiefs of the lands of Syria from Sile to Jaffa" and ... *n n3 wrw nw sttyw* "... to the chiefs of the Asiatics" pAnas III, 1:9-10. Unfortunately, no information is given about the nature of Amenemope's mission s to the Levant. The text does, however, attest to the continuing use of royal envoys for assignments in the Levant.

The occurrence of the phrases *n3 wrw nt h3swt n hr s3ʿ m tr r iwp* "the chiefs of the lands of Syria from Sile to Jaffa" and *n3 wrw nw sttyw* "the chiefs of the Asiatics" also indicates the continued existence of the vassal system in Palestine. *Wr* is the term used by the Egyptians for the local vassal princes. According to these phrases, then, there were vassal princes in the region south of Jaffa.

Among the texts on the *verso* of the papyrus is an extract from the journal of a border official. It is written in a different hand than the *recto*, but the original appears to date from the same year, regnal year three of Merneptah Gardiner 1937: xiv. There is no colophon to provide a date for the copy. The passage consists of a series of dated entries listing the passage of officials through a border post. Most of them were carrying letters to individuals in Syria-Palestine. In a nine-day period, from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth day of the first month of *šmw*, seven letters were transmitted, and two arrivals unrelated to the courier service were recorded.

Assuming that the text is a genuine extract from a journal and not an artificial sample created for the benefit of a student, it offers insights into the administration of the region. In particular, it suggests a regular traffic between Egypt and the Levant. In this particular nine-day period, more than eight individuals either arrived at or departed from the post. The text records seven individuals by name, and an unspecified number of troop commanders *hryw pdt* who came *en masse*. If this represents a typical rate of movement between the two regions, then the flow of traffic was fairly constant and heavy.

The recipients of the letters were mostly Egyptian officials. Four were overseers of garrison-hosts *imy-r3 iwʿyt*, one was a steward *imy-r3 pr*, and one an adjutant *idnw*. In addition, one letter was sent to the prince of Tyre. The journal never gives precise geographic destination of the letters. It records only whether they were outbound, to *h3rw* "Syria-Palestine," or inbound, to *p3 nty tw.tw nsw im* "the place where the king is," i.e. the royal residence. The journal does not indicate the contents of the letters.

The couriers are in many ways the most interesting feature of the text. Many appear to be Palestinian princelings attached to the pharaonic court and are referred to by the title *šmsw* "courtier." Although the orthography of the city name is somewhat defective, four of the couriers were from Gaza. Some have good Egyptian names, Thoth vs. 6:6 and Setmose vs. 6:8, but all of their fathers have clearly non-Egyptian names: Zippor vs. 6:1; Ranke 1935: 406, Zakarem vs. 6:6, Shema-baal vs. 6:7; Ranke 1935: 327, and ʿAper-degel vs. 6:8; Burchardt 1909: 257. In addition to these natives of Gaza, the courier Nakht-amun son of Djaro vs. 5:1, and the stable-master *hry ihw* Pmer-khetem son of Any vs. 5:4 each carried two letters. The presence of four Palestinians among the couriers testifies to the integration of young men from the provinces into the Egyptian bureaucracy during this period.

Three of the four couriers from Gaza Thoth, Matjedet, and Setmose were traveling together and carrying "gifts" as well as a letter. According to the text, they were bearing *intw* and one letter to the overseer of a garrison-host Khay at the royal residence pAnas III, 6:6-9. The word *intw* is problematic as written. If the *t* is a mistake for the *nw*-pot Gardiner 1937: 31a, then we would have a good writing for *inw* "gifts, tribute," the word used for tributary offerings that vassal princes present to the pharaoh. Although *inw* has other uses as well, it is tempting to see these men as the bearers of such tribute. Their precise starting-point is not given, but they were clearly en route from the Levant to the Nile Valley. Thoth, Matjedet, and Setmose could have been transporting the tribute of the vassal prince of Gaza, or another Palestinian city, to the royal court.

The extract notes two other groups of travelers. The charioteer *kdn* Inwau went up *tst* from the border post on an unstated mission. Since Vallogia's 1976 study concluded that royal envoys were usually drawn from the chariotry and most often bore the title *kdn*,

we might logically infer that Inwau was serving in the capacity of a royal envoy.

An unspecified number of troop commanders *ḥrjw pdt* arrived from the Wells of Merneptah-hotphima'e in order to conduct an investigation at Sile. The Wells of Merneptah-hotphima'e, which the text locates "in the hills," must have been the site of an Egyptian way station or garrison Yurco 1986: 211–213 . Many scholars von Calice 1903; Wolf 1933: 42; Rendsburg 1981: 171; Yurco 1986: 211–212 have connected this installation with a toponym in the Biblical book of Joshua, *ma'yan mê neptôaḥ* "the well/fountain of the waters of Nephtoah" Josh. 15:9; 18:15 . A redivision of the words yields *ma'yan mêneptôaḥ*, a recognizable form of "the Well of Me r neptah." The quiescence of *r* evident in the Hebrew toponym is characteristic of Late Egyptian Černý and Groll 1984: 6 . The location of the well of the waters of Nephtoah in the Judean hills marking the boundaries of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin accords favorably with the context given in papyrus Anastasi III.

In sum, papyrus Anastasi III provides evidence for the dual system of administration during the reign of Merneptah. There were both local vassal princes *wrw* and pharaonic officials functioning in the region. Young men from Palestine served in the royal court, and royal envoys and couriers carried communications between the various officials. At times these communications involved the exchange of gifts between the parties.

REIGN OF SETI II

Administration

Although pithoi fragments inscribed with the cartouches of Seti II have been found at Haruvit Goldwasser 1980; Oren 1987: fig. 7 in Sinai and Tel Far'a S Starkey and Harding 1932: 28–29, pls. LXI, LXIV:74 in southern Palestine, only one text from his reign touches on the administration of the region, ostracon Michaelides 85. The ostracon is a copy of a letter from the scribe of a garrison-host *sš n ṯ3 iw'yt* to the commander of the garrison-host *ḥr(y) ṯ3 iw'yt*. The text contains several errors, including instances of haplography and dittography, which make it difficult to read

sš n ṯ3 iw'yt jpwy nr y, ṯ3 iw'yt ḥ3k-n-imn m 'nḥ wd3 snb ḥ3b pw r-nty n3 n dmw n pr '3 'nḥ wd3 snb nty m ww n nb(.t)3, wd3w ... n pr '3 'nḥ wd3 snb nty m im.sn wd3w snb.w, iw.w ḥr dd n nṯrt nbt.w nty m ww n p3 ṯ3 <n p3 ṯ3> n ḥ3rw ... pr '3 'nḥ wd3 snb p3y.i nb 'nḥ wd3 snb w ṯ3 nbt ḥdb ḥr dbw.ti n3 p 3y.i nb m ḥs tw.f k3 ḥr sw d3w ib n p3 ... p3 wpt ḥb n 'ntt gdt ... r drw.w iw.i ḥr šp p3y ... n ṯ3 nṯrt w w' n ḥ3p ... kr nw š ... ptr ....

The scribe of the garrison-host Ipuy to the commander of the garrison-host Bak-en-amun. In life, prosperity, and health. It is a sending to the effect that the towns of the pharaoh, l.p.h., which are in the districts of my ? lord are prosperous. subject omitted of the pharaoh, l.p.h., which are therein are prosperous and healthy. They say to the goddess, their mistress, who is in the districts of the land of <the land of> Khor [...] pharaoh, l.p.h., my lord, l.p.h., every land is prostrate under the sandals of? m y lord in praising him. Another matter to inform m[y lord...] the first day of the festival of Anat of Gaza [...] all of them. I have received the [...] of/for the goddess. One of the scouts [...]

Although there ought to be a stroke between the names of the sender and the recipient Bakir 1970: 41–42 , the letter was apparently written by the scribe Ipuy to the commander of the garrison-host Bak-en-amun. Ipuy reports first on the general well-being of the district. The towns and something else, the noun was omitted, are all declared to be prosperous. The missing subject is probably the servants or herds of the pharaoh, judging on the basis of a parallel in a miscellany text in which a scribe reports to his master that his house, servants, and herds are all prospering well pSalliers I, 4:7 8 . The opening section concludes with the assurance that the Palestinians are in a state of submission. With the marker *ky* "another topic," the scribe turns to specific topics, including the feast of the goddess Anat of Gaza and a scout. Unfortunately, this section of the text is badly broken, and no details are preserved.

Although we cannot reconstruct exactly what the scribe was reporting to his superiors, his function is clear: he was acting as the eyes and ears of the king, reporting on the general state of affairs and significant events which occurred in the region. Thus this ostracon provides a concrete instance of the intelligence-gathering role alluded to in the Kadesch Bulletin text.

The text may also point to the system of circuit officials. The mere existence of the letter suggests that Ipuy's superior Bak-en-Amun was not present at the place the scribe was stationed. Although the letter's destination is not specified, the most likely scenarios are

that Bak-en-amun was making the rounds of a circuit or that he was in the Nile Valley.

REIGN OF RAMESSES III

Political and Military History

Ramesses III was faced with a geopolitical situation markedly different from that of his predecessors. In relatively short order, the whole of western Asia was turned upside down. All along the coast, from Anatolia to southern Palestine, cities were reduced to ashes. Egypt's main rival, Hatti, was among the casualties. According to Egyptian sources, the incursion of a coalition of peoples known collectively as the Sea Peoples caused this destruction. Their arrival in the region not only jeopardized Egyptian interests in Asia, but threatened the security of the Nile Valley itself. They put Egypt for once in an unequivocally defensive posture.

Ramesses III's encounters with the Sea Peoples are recorded at Medinet Habu and in the historical section of papyrus Harris I. The primary source is the year eight inscription from Medinet Habu describing the land and sea battles KRI V, 37–43. Another text from Medinet Habu, the account of the first Libyan campaign in year five, also contains a section dealing with the Sea Peoples KRI V, 20–27. A pictorial account was engraved in a series of reliefs on the north exterior wall of the same temple.

L. H. Lesko (1980) has voiced suspicions about the historicity of these battle scenes. Pointing to the borrowing of Syrian battle scenes and stone blocks from the Ramesseum, he suggests that the Libyan and Sea Peoples battles of years five and eight, respectively, were copied from the mortuary temple of Merneptah that lay between the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu. Lesko's doubts about the Libyan war are supported by the similarity in the extant accounts of the two kings—the year dates and lists of tribes and chieftains are virtually identical—and by the fact the papyrus Harris records only one Libyan war. Lesko marshals considerably less evidence against the year eight inscription. As Lesko (1980: 86) himself notes, no Sea Peoples battle is known from Merneptah's eighth regnal year, the lists of tribes differ significantly, and the war is included in papyrus Harris.

The topic of the Sea Peoples is exceedingly complex and cannot be explored in full here. Even a review of the recent literature would require too much space and take us too far afield. The primary subject of research, the origin of the Sea Peoples, although interesting in its own right, is not particularly relevant to this study. Only two issues need detain us here: the history of military encounters and the political outcome.

Since the series of inscriptions from Medinet Habu concerning the events of a battle differ from the Kadesh battle accounts, scholars have inquired into these texts recently. The most thorough and provocative of the studies is the structural analysis of Ramesses III's military inscriptions conducted by B. Cifola (1988; 1991). Whereas previous scholars had identified a new literary style in those inscriptions Spalinger 1983: 213–230., Cifola 1988: 301 argues that the "stylistic features" represent a dissonance between the events to be recorded and the available ideological and literary categories.

Through a structural analysis and comparison of the accounts of Ramesses' Libyan and Sea Peoples campaigns, Cifola demonstrates important differences between the two sets of inscriptions. The texts concerned with the Libyan wars contain many more details than those recounting the Sea Peoples battles (Cifola 1988: 303; 1991: 51. In developing the standard narrative movements, the Sea Peoples inscriptions utilize only the more generic narrative functions. For instance, the "unfortunate situation of the enemy" is expressed by the functions of curse, lament, and submission, whereas the Libyan war accounts utilize flight and submission with tribute Cifola 1988: 294. Cifola 1991: 53 notes in particular that rather than leading the army into battle, Ramesses' response to the crisis was to strengthen the army and the border posts, actions which are more consistent with a long-term defensive posture than a single assault.

Despite a few obscure terms, the passage describing the Egyptians' preparations provides indirect information about the administrative system:

> ist ib nṯr pn nb nṯrw grg(w) ḥryw r sḫt.w mi 3pdw dw.f pḥty.i w ṣ sḫrw.t ḥr ḥpt pn ... i ḥr bs) m ḥi3yt sḥn.t t3š.i ḥr d3ḥ grg(w) r ḥ3t.sn w ṣ imyw-r3 iw ṣt mɩyn dw.t grg r-ḥ3tw mi sḥty nḥt m ḥ ṣt ḥ3 mnśw b3ɩt nśk w.sn ʿpɩ tm m ḥ3t r pḥ:ɩ m ḥ3w ḳnw ḥr ḥ ṣ.sn mnfit m stp nb n t3-mry w.w mi m3t ḥɩr ḥr tp dw.w n-t-ḥtn m pḥrɩ m t3r-tḥm m snny nb nfr gm-dit ṣmt.w ḥɩ w.t m ḥ ṣ.sn nb grg w) r ptpt ḥ3w.t ḥr ṣd.ɩ.w KRI V, 40:5–12

Now the heart of this god, the lord of the gods, was prepared and ready to trap them like birds. He furnished my strength, and my plans

came about. My [arm?] went forth while producing things like mira-
cles. I strengthened my border in Djahy, prepared before them—chiefs,
overseers of garrison-hosts, and *maryanu*. I caused the river-mouth to
be prepared like a strong wall with warships, *mns*-boats, and *bar*-boats . . .
They were completely equipped from prow to stern with brave fighters
bearing weapons and soldiers consisting of all the choicest of *Ta-mery*.
They were like a lion roaring upon the mountains. The chariotry con-
sisted of runners, *šbw*-bearers, and all good chariot-warriors who were
skilled. Their horses were trembling in all their limbs, prepared to
trample foreign lands under their feet.

The word *nsk* is otherwise unknown, but grammatically ought to
modify *b3yr*, the third type of boat listed, as *'h3* modifies *'h'wt* "war-
ships." The term *t3y-tkm* is also obscure, occurring in only one other
document where it is connected with the priesthood Schulman 1964:
71–72.

The passage bears witness to the dual system of administration,
since both local and pharaonic officials are marshaled to defend the
border in Palestine. Two of the three groups are the same as those
mentioned in the Kadesh Bulletin as responsible for intelligence-gath-
ering—local vassal princes *(wrw)* and overseers of garrison-hosts *(imyw-
r3 iw'yt)*. The third group, the *maryanu*, were an elite force of Hurrian
derivation or inspiration.

Further indications of the defensive preparations are given in the
description of the enemy's defeat, although the passage is quite
difficult:

*n3 spr r t3s.i n prt.sn ib.sn b3.sn skm r nhh dt n3 ii twt n hr.w hr p3 w3d-
wr p3 hwt mh r-h3t.sn hr n nw-h3wt inh.n.sn ssw m nywi hr mr ithw g3wt
hdb hr t3 sprt sm3 irw m iwn m sd r d3d3 'h'wt.sn ht.sn mi hr hr mw KRI
V, 40:15–41:2*

As for those who reached my border, their seed is not. Their heart
and their *ba* are finished forever and ever. As for those who came,
assembled before them upon the Great-Green, the full fire was before
them toward the river-mouths. They surrounded an enclosure of spears
upon the shore—dragged, thrown down, prostrate upon the beach,
slain, and made into heaps from tail to head. Their boats and their
things were as if thrown into the water.

The outcome of the land battle is stated in simple and straightfor-
ward terms, but the references in the naval battle are obscure. What
is the full fire *(hwt mh)* that was before the enemy? What exactly
was erected on the shore? The word *ssw* "enclosure" occurs in only
one other text, also from Medinet Habu, in which the king hunts

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desert game *(KRI* V, 113) neither the text nor the accompanying
relief provides a description of the enclosure.

For the political outcome of the Sea Peoples battles, there is only
one written source, papyrus Harris I. The papyrus was prepared as
a testimonial document shortly after the Ramesses III's death in
order to be buried with him. Whereas the monumental inscriptions
are content to proclaim the defeat of the enemy, the papyrus describes
the aftermath in greater detail:

*sm3.i n3 dnn m n3y.sn nw n3 tkr prst irw m ssfy šrdn wšš n p3 ym st irw
m tm-wn h3k m sp w' i.n.w m h3k r kmt mi š' nw wdb snty.i st m nhtw
w'f hr m.i 'I3wt n3y.sn d3mw mi hfnw htr.i st r drw.w m hbsw di m r3-hd
šnwt r tnw mpt* pHarris I, 76:7–9)

I slew the Danuna in their isles. The Tjekker and the Philistines were
made into ashes. As for the Sherden and the Weshesh of the sea, they
were made into non-existent ones, captured at one time. They were
brought as captives to Egypt like the sand of the shore. I established
them in fortresses bound in my name. Their troops were numerous
as myriads. I provided all of them with clothing and provisions from
the treasuries and granaries every year.

The clear implication of the text is that at least some of the defeated
Sea Peoples entered into the employ of the pharaoh as mercenaries
and were settled in Egyptian fortresses. The imprecision in the ref-
erence of the third person plural pronoun leaves it unclear whether
the text intends to distinguish three different outcomes or to announce
one fate for all five peoples.

Given the fact that the Philistine settlement of the southern coastal
plain of Palestine is dated to this period, scholars have naturally con-
nected that settlement to the account in papyrus Harris. That led
them to the conclusion that the pharaoh, having forced the Sea
Peoples to accept his sovereignty, made them guardians of the *Via
Maris*. The Philistines occupied the Egyptian strongholds in southern
Palestine, while the Tjekker settled the port city of Dor further to the
north (Albright 1932: 58; Alt 1954: 228).

Egypt did conscript defeated enemies into its army. The stela of
Ramesses II known as "Tanis II" *(KRI* II, 289–290) contains an
explicit reference to this practice: *h3k.n.f h3st imntt shpr m mš' r šms.f*
"he captured the western land, making (it) into an army to follow
him." A text from the Great Temple at Abu Simbel indicates that
the normal practice was to station mercenaries in a place far removed
from the site of their defeat, not in a region where they might form

alliances with native or neighboring populations and establish a power base of their own. In a scene depicting the slaying of a Libyan chief, Ramesses II is described as

in t3-nhsy r t3-mhtt 'Imw r t3-sty rdi.n.f S3sw r t3 imntt grg.n.f thnw hr n3 tsw.t mh nhwt nt .ty kd.n.f m h3k hpš.f tnr KRI II, 206:11–16

> One who brings the southerner to the northern land and the Asiatic to Nubia. He placed the Shasu at the western land. He prepared the Libyan on the mountains, filling the fortresses which he built with the captures of his strong arm.

Papyrus Harris does not state the location of the fortresses in which the Sea Peoples were stationed, but based on these passages, we would expect to find them in Nubia, the western Delta, or Egypt proper, rather than in Palestine (Bietak 1991: 37). Whether units of the Sea Peoples were placed in garrisons elsewhere in the Egyptian sphere or not, it seems unlikely that the Egyptians would have settled any of them in Palestine, the very region which they sought to conquer.

If the papyrus refers to the Philistine settlement of southern Palestine, we must consider the possibility that the text is putting a good face on a bad situation, describing as intentional that which could not be prevented (Barnett 1970: 378). In that case the integration of the Sea Peoples into the Egyptian military was a fiction created to explain their presence on Egypt's doorstep.

On the other hand, if only the Sherden and the Weshesh were conscripted, then the text has nothing to do with Levantine settlement patterns. Groups of Sherden had already served in the Egyptian army, most notably at the battle of Kadesh. In sections P25–26 of the Kadesh Poem text, the Egyptian forces are said to consist of the army (*mš'*), the cavalry (*t-nt-htri*), and *šrdn n h3kt hm.f in.n.f m nhwt.f* "Sherden of his majesty's capture whom he brought in his victories" KRI II, 11:6–10).

Administration

Papyrus Harris

Papyrus Harris also provides clues to the status of the remainder of the region and the way in which it was administered. The text suggests that some portions of Syria-Palestine remained securely within the Egyptian sphere. Passages detail the founding of a temple for

Amun in PaCanaan and the assignment of tax revenues from Levantine cities to the Karnak temple. These passages and their implications have been studied most recently by S. Wimmer (1990: 1086–1089).

The description of the temple is contained in the narrative of the Theban section of the papyrus:

kd.i n.k hwt št3t m t3 n dh mitn 3ht nt pt nty m hrt t3 hwt r'-mss-hk3-iwn 'nh wd3 snb m p3 kn'n m my-pr n in.k msy.i ssmw.k w htp m hnw.f imn n r'-mss-hk3-iwn 'nh wd3 snb iw n.f h3styw nw rtnw hr mw.sn n nr.f m ntry.f pHarris I, 9:1–3

> I built for you (i.e. Amun) a house of mysteries in the land of Djahy like the horizon of heaven which is in the sky. The House of Ramesses III, l.p.h., in PaCanaan is as a bequest for your name. I created your great statue resting within it, Amun of Ramesses III, l.p.h. The foreigners of Retenu come bearing their tribute before it according to its divinity.

According to this description, the House of Ramesses III in PaCanaan was conceived as an Egyptian temple located in Palestine. It held an Egyptian-style cult statue *ssmw* identified as Amun of Ramesses III. The characterization of it as "like the horizon of heaven" refers to the Egyptian concept of a temple as the boundary between heaven and earth and could indicate the presence of a pylon, the architectural realization of that concept (Wimmer 1990: 1088).

Although the phrase *hwt št3t* is not among the standard Egyptian terms for a temple, it is not an inappropriate designation for a temple located in a Palestinian city. The word *št3t* is usually translated "difficult of access" and in this passage is taken to mean physically inaccessible (Grandet 1983: 110; Wimmer 1990: 1087–1088). However, *št3t* also connotes religious mysteries that are spiritually inaccessible. Therefore, the *hwt št3t* that Ramesses III built in Palestine was probably not a hidden or fortified house, but a house of religious mysteries.

The description does not require us to envision a large processional temple on the order of the Karnak and Luxor temples, however. The Temple of Ramesses III in PaCanaan, probably small by Egyptian standards, would have been sufficiently large to impress the local population and to serve the needs of the Egyptian administration.

This passage from papyrus Harris represents the only unequivocal evidence for an Egyptian temple in a Palestinian city during the

Ramesside period. Wimmer finds corroboration of its uniqueness in the phrasing of the text. The use of the definite article in the name of the shrine, *t3 ḥwt r‘-mss ḥk3-iwn ‘nḥ wḏ3 snb m p3 kn‘n* "the house of Ramesses III, l.p.h., in PaCanaan," "emphasizes the singularity, the outstanding importance of this temple—as if there were no others worth mentioning" Wimmer 1990: 1088.

PaCanaan is generally identified as Gaza (Katzenstein 1982; Redford 1990: 32; Wimmer 1990: 1088), the implication being that Gaza was *the* city of Canaan during this period, at least from the Egyptian perspective. In Seti I's battle reliefs on the northern outer wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall of the Karnak temple, discussed above, a fortified town is labeled *dmi n p3 kn‘n* "town of PaCanaan." Since Gardiner (1920: 104), the identification of that town with Gaza has been widely accepted (Katzenstein 1982: 112). Most other references to *p3 kn‘n* from the Ramesside period have been interpreted grammatically as *p3 (n) kn‘n* "the one of Canaan" Redford 1990: 32; Wimmer 1990: 1088. The sole exception is the Encomium of Merneptah (the so-called "Israel Stela"), where the reference to *p3 kn‘n* is often understood as indicating a region rather than a town (Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Yurco 1986: 190). According to Yurco (1986: 190), during the reign of Merneptah, the Egyptians returned to the use of the local name for the city, in Egyptian *gdt* or *kdt*, leaving the term *p3 kn‘n* available as a regional reference. At other times during the Ramesside period, *p3 kn‘n* meant Gaza.

Some scholars have expressed doubts about this identification Grandet 1983: 111; Ahituv 1984: 85. Although Grandet's 1983: 111 proposal to locate the Temple of Ramesses III in PaCanaan at Beth Shan cannot be accepted cf. Wimmer 1990: 1088, he argues persuasively that in this passage the term *p3 kn‘n* should be understood as standing in parallel to *t3 n ḏḥ* "land of Djahy." He claims that the scribe deliberately utilized all of the available terms for the region, including *rtnw* and *ḫr* as well as *p3 kn‘n* and *ḏḥ*.

On careful examination, the argument for the identification of *p3 kn‘n* with Gaza is not particularly strong. The name *gdt/kdt* is attested not only in the reign of Merneptah (pAnas III, vs.), but also in the reigns of Ramesses II (pAnas I) and Seti II (ost. Michaelides 85). It also occurs in the Onomasticon of Amenope (no. 264). With the exception of the label *dmi n p3 kn‘n* in the battle reliefs, all of the other attestations of *p3 kn‘n* can be plausibly interpreted as regional references. Ahituv 1984: 85 has questioned the second occurrence

in Seti I's battle reliefs and the passage in papyrus Harris. The Encomium of Merneptah has been variously interpreted, as was discussed above. The other attestation from the Ramesside period cited by Katzenstein 1982: 112 is papyrus Anastasi I, which refers to *pḥwy p3 kn‘n* "the end of PaCanaan." Katzenstein understands the phrase to mean the end of the Ways of Horus in southern Palestine and hence the city of Gaza, but it reads equally well as a reference to the region. In none of these cases does the context require a correlation with the city of Gaza. Therefore, although the identification remains possible, it is certainly not proven.

According to papyrus Harris (9:3), the foreigners of Retenu (*ḫ3styw n rtnw*) brought their tribute (*inw*) to the Temple of Ramesses III in PaCanaan. This practice may represent the mechanism by which the taxes of the Syro-Palestinian cities mentioned later in the text (11:11) were appropriated for the priesthood of Amun. Nine cities of Syria-Palestine and Nubia *dmiw n ḫr kš 9* are included in the list of benefactions which the king had bestowed on the temple of Amun at Karnak.[a] As Wimmer (1990: 1089) points out, this does not mean that temples to Amun were erected in each of these cities, but rather that the tribute of the towns was allocated to the temple treasury.

I have doubts all tribute to Amun priesthood

Hieratic Inscriptions

Further evidence of this practice may be found in the hieratic inscriptions from southern Palestine. Bowls and bowl fragments inscribed in hieratic came to light in the excavations at Lachish, Tel Sera‘, Tel Haror, Tell el-Far‘a (S), and Deir el-Balah. All of them seem to be related to the economic administration of the region. Although many of the texts can only be assigned a broad Ramesside date, I discuss them here because the sole one that can be precisely dated, Tel Sera‘ bowl no. 1, belongs to the reign of Ramesses III. Nothing precludes a similar date for the others.

The Lachish bowl and two of the bowls from Tel Sera‘ nos. 1 and 2 are the most complete. Bowls nos. 1 and 2 from Tel Sera‘ begin *b3 . . .[1] nty* "b3 . . . which," a phrase which also occurs in the

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[a] The reference to Nubia is omitted in the summary at the end of the section dealing with temple benefactions which reads simply *dmiw n ḫ3rw 9* "nine towns of Syria-Palestine" pHarris I, 68a.2.

inscription on the inside of the Lachish bowl. The space between the *ḥ3* ligature and the following *nty* is always the same Goldwasser 1984: 77–80. The incomplete first word must be the item of which an accounting is being given.

The Lachish bowl (Tufnell 1958: 132–133, pls. 44, 47) was found in secondary context in dumped material southeast of the Palace-Fort. Scarabs of Ramesses II and perhaps Ramesses III were found in association with the pieces of the bowl (Tufnell 1958: 132).

The bowl actually bears three inscriptions dating to the same regnal year, one on the inside and two on the outside. None is preserved complete. The paleography of the texts, with the exception of the *ḥ3*-ligature, suggested to Černý a date close to the reign of Merneptah. The *ḥ3*-ligature, however, is best paralleled in papyrus Harris I from the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV Tufnell 1958: 133.

The inscription on the inside of the bowl reads: *ḥ3t-sp 4 3bd 4 3ḥt sw 26 nty . . . . ḥ3 . . . 2 nty . . . t . . . wr rtš . . . swt . . . pw dmd 1000 . . . 100 . . . n šmw n t3 . . .* "Regnal year 4, month 4 of Akhet, day 26. That which . . . ba . . . 2. That which . . . bread . . . the prince of Latish (?) . . . Wheat (of) . . . pw. Total 1100+ . . . of/for the harvest tax of the . . ." The reading of the place name Latish = Lachish is not certain, but is "not improbable" Ahituv 1984: 130.

The first inscription on the outside of the bowl reads: *m ḥ3t sp 4 3bd 2 šmw . . . swt . . . 420+ dmd (?) 1000+* "Regnal year 4, month 2 of Shemu, . . . Wheat . . . 420+ . . . Total (?) 1000+."

The second inscription on the outside reads: *. . . ḥ3t-sp 4 3bd 4 šmw sw 1 swt . . . 300 . . . 3 . . . 900* "Regnal year 4, month 4 of Shemu, day one. Wheat . . . 303+ . . . 900."

The texts, though broken, are clearly grain accounts. The word *swt* "wheat" appears in all three. Other commodities may be involved as well, including bread and whatever "*ba . . .*" is. Most significant is the occurrence of the term *šmw* "harvest tax" which indicates that these are not receipts for commercial grain transactions, like the transaction behind the Aphek letter, but tax documents.

Fragments of two other inscribed bowls Tufnell 1958: 132–133, pls. 44, 47 were found in the same dump area at Lachish. On one bowl, the phrase *hrw pn* "this day" can be read. The other is too fragmentary to produce a readable text. Černý assigned a general date in the Ramesside period to these inscriptions.

Four small sherds with hieratic inscriptions have been found in the renewed excavations at Lachish. None of them comes from a clear stratigraphic context Gilula 1976: 107; Goldwasser 1991a: 248. All have been dated paleographically to the Ramesside period Gilula 1976: 107; Goldwasser 1991a: 251. Sherd no. 1 Goldwasser 1991a: 248–250 is a rim sherd of a bowl inscribed on the outer surface. The word *sš* "scribe" is followed by the reed leaf and seated man. The fourth sign is broken, but could be read as syllabic *sa*. There are two possibilities for the word following *sš*: the name or the institution of the scribe Goldwasser 1991a: 249. Sherds nos. 2 and 3 Goldwasser 1991a: 250 preserve two signs each. Sherd no. 2 reads *d3t* "remainder," and sherd no. 3 has the number 1100. A fourth sherd, from the fill of a foundation trench of Palace A, Gilula 1976 sherd has portions of two lines of text. The first line is *ḥ3t-sp 10 + . . .* "regnal year 10+." The second line has not yet yielded a satisfactory reading.

Sera' bowl no. 1 Goldwasser 1984: 77–80 reads: *ḥ3 . . . nty . . . n ḥ3t-sp 22 + . . . sḥ3 . . . šmw?' ḥḳ3t tp ḥ3r 160* "b3 . . . which . . . in regnal year 22+ . . . account . . . harvest tax (?) measured in the first quadruple hekat making 460 sacks." Only the determinative of the word *šmw* is preserved, but Goldwasser 1984: 79 reconstructs it on the basis of the parallel with the Lachish bowl. Most important in this text is the preservation of the regnal year. Only one Egyptian king with a reign of more than twenty years can be accommodated within the range established by paleographic analysis, namely Ramesses III Goldwasser 1984: 79.

Sera' bowl no. 2 Groll 1973: 56; Goldwasser 1984: 80 reads: *ḥ3 . . . nty . . . iw m pr . . .* "b3 . . . which . . . arrived from the house/estate/temple. . . ." Goldwasser understands the text as recording the arrival of goods at a temple (translating "arrived at the temple"), but the preposition *m* properly indicates movement from, not movement toward Gardiner 1950: 124. The expected idiom in accounting texts is *iw m-drt* or *iw m-ʿ* "arrived by the hand of/through the agency of" Megally 1977: 75. The interpretation of *pr* as a reference to a religious institution is also uncertain due to the break following the *pr* sign. Numerous compounds with *pr* exist, including *pr nsw* "palace" and *pr ḥd* "treasury."

The other inscriptions from Tel Sera' are extremely fragmentary and do not add particularly to our understanding. Bowl no. 3

Goldwasser 1984: 80–81 records a quantity of 2000+ sacks, and bowl no. 4 Goldwasser 1984: 81 ten vessels. Sherd no. 5 Goldwasser 1984: 81–82 preserves only the regnal year seven. Only two words can be read on sherd no. 6 Goldwasser 1984: 82: *ḥrw nfr* "festivities." Finally, sherd no. 7 Groll 1973: 57; Goldwasser 1984: 82 has a few brief phrases: "... *ink ḥr.i* ... *ntf dit s3* ... *n tw* ... "... As for me, I say ... and he will cause that ... of/to ..."

A single hieratic ostracon was found during the excavations at Tel Haror (Goldwasser 1991b). The small sherd preserves five signs. The first three signs form the end of a foreign place name: reed leaf (for the sound *i*), throw stick, and foreign land determinative. The inscription reads "... *i n ḥ3t sp* ... "GN of/for regnal year ..." Goldwasser 1991b: 19 proposes the reconstruction "[the annual tribute of GN] for regnal year ..." Since the preposition *m* becomes *n* except before labials in Late Egyptian Černý and Groll 1984: 4–5, the reading "in regnal year" is also possible.

Two potsherds bearing hieratic inscriptions in black ink were found atop a grain pit at Tell el-Far'a (S). Since they seem to come from the same hand Goldwasser and Wimmer 1999: 39 suggest that they may belong to the same bowl. The ink is badly faded, but a number of signs can still be distinguished. Goldwasser and Wimmer 1999: 40 offer the following reading of Fragment A: "... *ddt ini it* ... *nty (m) wd3t m it n ḥry* ... *inyt m-' s3 p3-* ..." "what was said is(?) what was brought ... which is the rest, as barley of/for the overseer of ... brought by the hand of the scribe Pa-..." For Fragment B, they propose the following reading and reconstruction: "... *p3* ... *nty* ... *m-drt s3 (ḥry) it* *m it n 290*+ *x* ... *"* ... the ... which ... with/by the scribe Ḥr? barley of? 290+x ..." Goldwasser and Wimmer 1999: 40.

Goldwasser and Wimmer (1999: 41) report the existence of a similar text from Deir el-Balaḥ. It is to be published in the forthcoming *Qedem* volume on the cemetery and settlement at Deir el-Balaḥ.

The growing assemblage of hieratic inscriptions from southern Palestine attests to continued pharaonic sovereignty over the region. Most of the inscriptions appear to be a type of accounting text related to the collection of taxes. The fact that many of the texts were written on complete bowls suggests that they were not merely administrative, but also votive in nature (Goldwasser 1984: 84–85). Wimmer 1990: 1090 is undoubtedly correct in connecting them with the passage from papyrus Harris discussed above:

Referring back to the Asiatic possessions of the Amun-temple of Karnak, the Tel Sera' material can be compared, and taken as evidence for such payments to temple institutions in Egypt ... it may even be plausible that the payers, presumably one or more city-states in the area of Tel Sera', were among those 9 cities Wimmer 1990: 1090.

He suggests that the bowls themselves were "vouchers" sent to Egypt *disagree* in lieu of the grain retained in Palestine for the use of administrative and military personnel (Wimmer 1990: 1090). Since ceramic bowls are rather fragile and heavy, especially compared to papyrus or leather, they seem ill-suited as a medium for communication over long distances. Perhaps the bowls were used in a ritual of presentation at the Temple of Ramesses III in PaCanaan. Whether that temple was in Gaza or not, a location in southern Palestine would correlate nicely with the distribution of hieratic inscriptions.

Nothing in the inscriptions identifies the employers of the scribes. They might have been attached to a Egyptian institution, e.g. a temple, or to a circuit official, or they could have been employed by local princes. Helms (1988: 143) has documented the use of foreign scribes as one form that elite emulation of foreign aristocracies can take. The presence of Egyptian scribes in the courts of local princes could reflect the need to prepare proper administrative and legal documents for the Egyptian bureaucracy or the desire to appear as fully Egyptianized as possible. On the other hand, an Egyptian official touring the region would have been accompanied by a scribe to ensure that proper records were kept.

A hieratic inscription of an entirely different genre was unearthed in the residential area of lower level VI at Beth Shan Wimmer 1994. The very fragmentary text is written in black ink on a small potsherd. Wimmer 1994: 36–38 reconstructs a raised cobra with the word *pdt* "bow" underneath. He suggests that the text reads "... the bow of Anat ..." with the standard reversal of word order to place the divine name in the first position. The raised cobra is often used to indicate a goddess. Wimmer (1994: 39–40) identifies the goddess as Anat because she is attested at Beth Shan on at least one votive stele from the same stratum and has the closest association with the bow of any Egyptian or local goddess.

In addition to the hieratic inscriptions which probably date to the reign of Ramesses III, the renewed excavations at Lachish produced a fragmentary cast bronze plaque bearing the prenomen of Ramesses

III (Giveon 1983; Ussishkin 1983: 123-124, fig. 13, pl. 30). It measures 16.5 × 11.4 cm and has a thickness of 0.3–0.6 cm. Three holes are pierced through the bottom edge of the plaque, and a handle is attached to the back. The plaque was found in a cache of bronze objects in the debris of the Level VI gate (Ussishkin 1983: 123-124). The shape and find spot of the plaque suggested that it might be a bolt for a door or gate (Giveon 1983: 176).

Although the object is important for the dating of Stratum VI for which it provides a *terminus post quem*, it is of uncertain historical import. The notion that it might have been affixed to a door or gate at Lachish is intriguing, but unprovable. The cache of objects to which the plaque belonged consisted of "a peculiar assortment of broken or defective objects and tools" and suggested to the excavators "a collection of discarded objects kept for remelting and recasting the metal" (Ussishkin 1983: 124). The plaque might have come to the site as scrap metal rather than as a functional object.

A large number of inscribed architectural fragments from Level VI at Beth Shan attest to the presence of a resident Egyptian official there. Ramesses-user-khepesh —army officer, troop captain, royal scribe, and great steward— resided in the building known as House 1500 which he embellished with hieroglyphic inscriptions bearing his name and that of his father, Djehuty-mes (or Thutmose). The texts were published by Wilson in James 1966.

The most impressive piece is a limestone lintel depicting Ramesses-user-khepesh kneeling in adoration of Ramesses III (James 1966: 161-163, 167-169, figs. 92:1, 93:1). Although the lintel was not found in situ, the inscription suggests that it belonged originally to House 1500. The text reads:

> *ḥr k3 nḫt ʿ3 nsyt nb t3wy wsr-m3ʿt-rʿ mry-imn nb ḫʿw rʿ-mss-ḥk3 iwnw t3w n.k ʿ...lk tw m ḥḥwy nn stn tw r rʿ ...m ky kmt iry.k nby.s mi rʿ ... ḥry n k3 n sš nsw imy r3 pr wr rʿ-mss wsr-ḫpš m3ʿ ḫrw*

> Horus, mighty bull, great of kingship, lord of the two lands, Usermaat-reʿ Mi-amun, lord of appearances, Ramesses III. Praise to you. You are [...] for millions. You are not distinguishable from Reʿ ... protector of Egypt whose lordship you exercise like Reʿ [...] heaven. For the ka of the royal scribe and great steward Ra[messes]-user-khepesh, justified.

Similar lintels are known from Ramesside houses at Aksha (Rosenvasser 1964: 98-99, pls. XXIX, XXXI), Amarna (Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933: 64-65, pl. XXIII:4), Buhen (Emery 1964: 43),

Deir el-Medineh (Bruyère 1939: 40-45), and Qantir (Hamza 1930: 35; Habachi 1952: 489-500, pls. XXV-XXVII).

Another limestone lintel fragment from Beth Shan, again depicting a kneeling official, preserves the full titulary of Ramesses-user-khepesh's father (James 1966: 162, 172, figs. 94:3, 95:3):

> *s3 t3y ḫw ḥr wnm n nsw ḥry pdt imy r3 ḫ3swt dhwty-ms*

> Son of the fanbearer on the right of the king, troop commander, and overseer of foreign lands, Djehuty-mes (or Thutmes)

Although it was not found in situ, this lintel probably derives from House 1500 as well.

Five limestone doorjamb fragments were found in or are to be associated with House 1500. They were all inscribed with two columns of text, although in some cases only portions of one column are preserved well enough to be read.

The largest jamb fragment that was found in the house (James 1966: 161-165, figs. 88:1, 89:1) reads:

> *... iwnw wr3 d.n.k ʿḥʿw n nwt nhtty mi m3ʿt (?) mi (?) ... ng.k ʿš wt \<ḥr\> ʿ3w m ḥmw.s nn ḥʿn s(y) d3) ...*

> Heliopolis. You have bequeathed the lifetime of victorious Thebes like that of Maʿat (?) and like (?) ... you cry out joy upon entering into it. Enemies will not draw near to it ...

Another large jamb fragment from a nearby locus (James 1966: 162, 172-173, figs. 96:1, 97:1) probably originally belonged to House 1500. It reads:

> *... jw r sdf3 šnwt nbt nb nb w n ... imy r3 mnfit ts pdt n nb t3wy sš nsw imy-r3 pr wr rʿ mss-wsr-ḫpš s3 t3y ḫw ḥr wnm n nsw ḥry p dt imy r3 ḫ3swt dhwty ms ...*

> to provision every granary ... made ... army officer, troop captain of the lord of the two lands, royal scribe, and great steward, Ramesses-user-khepesh, son of the fanbearer on the right of the king, [troop] commander, [and overseer of foreign lands, Djehuty-mes].

The two *nb* signs following *šnwt nbt* "every granary" are not intelligible, unless they are meant as a peculiar writing for "the two lords" which ought to have the hieroglyphs for Horus and Seth. The patronym is reconstructed on the basis of the lintel discussed above.

Three small fragments of doorjambs were found in Locus 1586 in House 1500. Each preserves only a few signs. One reads: *n niwt wsr* "for the mighty city" (James 1966: 161-163, 165, figs. 88:4,

89:4. Another bears the phrase: *n sh n nb.f... k'...* "to/for the *sh-*hall of his lord" James 1966: 161 163, 165, figs. 88:2, 89:2. A final fragment reads: *...k htp r st.f* "resting in his office" James 1966: 161–163, 165 166, figs. 90:1, 91:1.

Another limestone architectural fragment from Level VI preserves a portion of the titulary of the Ramesses-user-khepesh's father Djehuty-mes and may derive originally from House 1500. It reads: *l... t3y hw h'r wnm n 'nsw' hry pdt imy-'r3 h3swt...'* "[... fanbearer o]n the right of the king, troop commander, and over[seer of foreign lands...]."

Three other inscribed limestone doorjambs were found at Beth Shan, one in Locus 1096 of Late Level VI and two in Locus 1522 "below" Level V. They may have come from buildings of this period. Each preserves portions of two columns of text. The Late Level VI jamb James 1966: 171 172, figs. 98:1, 99:1 reads: *[...] i3w n.k p3 'n hry nhh ...] i,'3w n,k p3 h'py [...]* "Praise to you, O beautiful one, possessor of eternity... pr[aise to] you, O Hapy." The larger of the jambs from Locus 1522 (James 1966: 161–163, 169–170, figs. 92:2, 93:2) has phrases of praise to the king: *[... itn n psdt-pdwt twt 3bwt mitt r' [... di n.]k hb-sd mi r' di.k s3i m m33.sn ...,* "... Aten for the Nine Bows, pleasant of form, the likeness of Re' ... you [have been given] heb-sed festivals like Re'. You cause satiety at see-ing them..." The other jamb from Locus 1522 James 1966: 161- 163, 169, figs. 92:3, 93:3) preserves even fewer phrases: *[...]f m-ht.t sby.f [...] r[...] hst.f m wsr n [...]* "...he... after you that he might pass... praise him through the power..."

The large number of inscribed architectural fragments found at Beth Shan set the site apart from all others in Palestine. The amount of resources expended on the embellishment of houses with hiero-glyphic inscriptions indicates that here at least Egyptian officials were stationed and in residence for extended periods of time.

The precise role played by Ramesses-user-khepesh at Beth Shan is not certain. He bore both military and civilian titles and could have been stationed at Beth Shan in either capacity. The reference to granaries on one of the doorjambs suggests administrative func-tions, but whether the grain was intended for the sustenance of the garrison-host or for other purposes is unclear. The passage could be related to the collection of a harvest-tax levied on the fertile Esdraelon Plain, if the taxation of the valley attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty continued in the Twentieth, in which case Ramesses-user-khepesh may have functioned as a tax-collector for the region surrounding

Beth Shan. It is interesting to note that Ramesses-user-khepesh did not bear any of the titles that would automatically associate him with foreign service or military duty in Syria-Palestine. This should serve as a warning against drawing too many conclusions from the evidence of titularies alone.

Among the riches in the Stratum VIIA palace treasury at Megiddo were an ivory pen case and four ivory plaques with hieroglyphic inscriptions. The inscriptions include references to individuals bear-ing Egyptian titles.

The pen case (Loud 1939: 11–12, pl. 62) depicts the king kneel-ing in adoration before Amun. In addition to the cartouches of Ramesses III, the pen case has two short inscriptions, neither of which are well preserved. Wilson reads them as follows: *n k3 n wpwty nsw r h3st nb hry ihw nht-imn n hnw* "for the ka of the royal envoy to every land and stablemaster of the stable Nakht-Amun of the resi-dence" and *n k3 n [hry pdt n nb t3wy imy-r' h3swt... -ms 'm3' hrw* "for the ka of [the troop commander of the lord of the two lands and overseer of foreign lands...]-mes [justified]."

Wilson's reading of the first of these inscriptions is possible, but far from certain. The section following the title "royal envoy to every land" is badly damaged. Stable-master (*hry ihw*) would fit in the lacuna, but the traces are insufficient to prove the case one way or the other. The remaining traces of the branch in *nht* are pecu-liar; in fact it looks more like a harpoon than a branch. Even assum-ing that Wilson's reconstruction of the hieroglyphs is correct, the interpretation is open to question. The name Nakht-Amun could as easily be the name of a person as the name of the stable. Either interpretation fits the pattern of Egyptian titularies.

The reading of the second inscription is even less certain. Nothing is preserved between *n k3 n* and *ms.* Any reconstruction is, there-fore, a matter of speculation. Furthermore, traces of the letter *n* can be seen following *ms.'* What follows cannot be the phrase *m3' hrw* suggested by Wilson. Two possibilities present themselves. If *ms* is the last element of a personal name, then *n* introduces the institu-tion or city with which that individual was affiliated. Alternatively, *ms n* could introduce the name of the pencase owner's mother.

The similarity in titulary between this official, as reconstructed by Wilson, and the father of Ramesses-user-khepesh, who bore the titles *t3y hw hr wnm n nsw hry pdt imy-r3 h3swt* "fanbearer on the right of the king, troop commander, and overseer of foreign lands" has led to the suggestion that they are one and the same individual. The missing first element of the name of the former has been tentatively reconstructed by Wilson (Loud 1939: 11–12) to be *dhwty*, yielding Djehuty-mes or Thutmes, the name of Ramesses-user-khepesh's father.

The association of the two inscriptions is ingenious but ignores the strong correlation in the Ramesside period between the titles *hry pdt* "troop commander" and *imy-r3 h3swt* "overseer of foreign lands," as well as the speculative nature of the reconstruction. The majority of officials who bore the title *imy-r3 h3swt* also bore the title *hry pdt*. Furthermore, the element *ms* "born" is extremely common in New Kingdom names and could be compounded with a variety of divine names, including the popular *r'-ms* "Ramesses." Consequently we cannot assume that that we are dealing here with only one individual.

Three of the ivory plaques bear the name of the singer Kerker. Plaque no. 379 (Loud 1939: 12, pl. 63) bears the inscription: *[... pt]h rsy inb.f nb 'nh t3wy krkr [m3' hrw]* "[... Pta]h, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankh Tawy, Kerker, [justified]." Similarly, no. 380 (Loud 1939: 12, pl. 63) reads: *[...] n k3 n šm'yt n pth rsy inb.f nb 'nh t3wy wr '3 n iskrn krkr* "... for the ka of the singer of Ptah, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankh Tawy, great prince of Ashkelon, Kerker" Nos. 381 and 382 (Loud 1939: 12, pl. 63) are fragments of a larger plaque on which two phrases can be read: *mryt n nb t3wy* "beloved of the lord of the two lands" and *[...] w' ikr 3ht n nbt st hrw nb šm'yt n pt[h] rsy inb.f nb ['nh t3wy w]r '3 n iskrn krkr [...]* "... uniquely excellent, serviceable to her mistress every day, the singer of Pt[ah], South of His Wall, Lord of [Ankh Tawy], great [pri]nce of Ashkelon, Kerker. ..."

In publishing these texts, Wilson (Loud 1939: 13) poses the question, "Was Kerker, after all, the singer or the Prince of Ascalon?" The answer hangs on two points, the grammatical analysis of the texts and the gender of Kerker. Although hesitant to insist that Kerker must have been a woman due to some uncertainty in the reading of feminine endings and determinatives, Wilson argues that the grammar of the passage required that *wr '3 n iskrn* "great prince of Askelon" be understood as an epithet of Ptah and not a title of Kerker. The use of the genitival *n* in *šm'yt n pth* "singer of Ptah"

leads him to conclude that the three epithets that follow the divine name must be epithets of Ptah. The notable corollary of this grammatical analysis is that there existed a temple of Ptah in Ashkelon which was the basis for the epithet.

Wimmer (1990: 1091–1093) disputes the idea of a temple of Ptah in Ashkelon and offers two alternative grammatical interpretations. In both cases *wr '3 n iskrn* is taken to be a direct genitive. One option is to understand *šm'yt* as the governing noun of a sequence of genitives, the first indirect *n pth rsy inb.f nb 'nh t3wy*, and the second direct *wr '3 n iskrn*. In other words, Kerker was first the singer of Ptah, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankh Tawy, and later the singer of the great prince of Ashkelon. The other option is to interpret the entire phrase *šm'yt n pth rsy inb.f nb 'nh t3wy* "singer of Ptah, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankh Tawy", as the governing noun of the direct genitive *wr '3 n iskrn* "great prince of Ashkelon." As Wimmer argues,

> In other words, the servant of the ruler of Ashqelon was a "singer of Ptah, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Life-of-the-Two-Lands", and this designation must have had more the function of a title, rather than describing the precise nature of Kurkur's occupation (Wimmer 1990: 1093).

In either case, the evidence for a temple of Ptah in Ashkelon is negated.

A third alternative is to identify Kerker as the prince of Ashkelon, taking the gender of the singer to be male (Bryan 1991: n. 103). This provides the simplest interpretation from a grammatical viewpoint. The two titles "singer of Ptah, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankh Tawy" and "great prince of Ashkelon" stand in apposition to each other and to the name Kerker. The implication is that Kerker was raised in Egypt where he was trained as a singer of Ptah before he returned to Ashkelon to assume the position of vassal prince, presumably upon the death of his father.

The remaining plaque, no. 378 (Loud 1939: 12, pl. 62), depicts a woman making an offering to a man seated on a throne. The legend before the man reads: *wr n [...]* "great one/prince of ..." The main inscription reads: *hmsi nfr iw.tw m w3st hr-tp (?) 'wy nb ntrw h3y.f tw mry.f tw hrw nb n k3 n [...]* "A good sitting while one is in Thebes, before the lord of the gods. May he favor you. May he love you every day. For the ka of ..."

Bryan's interpretation is strengthened if plaque 378 is to be associated with the other three. The prince on this plaque is clearly a

human being and not the god Ptah. Unfortunately neither his name nor his city are preserved. Nevertheless, the similarities among the fragments in style and design suggest that they may have come from the same object.

Singer (1988–1989) interprets the pen case and plaques as evidence for a change of Megiddo's status from vassal state to Egyptian administrative center. The presence of objects bearing the names of Egyptian officials suggested to him that the hoard must have belonged to the Egyptian administration, most probably under the authority of the individual named on the pen case. Other evidence for Megiddo's new status included two Hittite objects, an ivory plaque and a steatite button seal, and the bronze statue base of Ramesses VI (Singer 1988–1989: 105–107). According to Singer, the Hittite plaque

> can only be understood within the context of Hittite-Egyptian diplomatic relations, which, as documented in the texts, involved massive exchange of luxury items (Singer 1988–1989: 106).

He concludes that during the Twentieth Dynasty Megiddo supplanted Beth Shan as the most important Egyptian center in northern Palestine (Singer 1988–1989: 108).

Singer's proposal hinges upon his rejection of the possibility that a local vassal could accumulate such a princely hoard through gift-exchange or trade:

> Only a high-ranking personality at the top of the Egyptian administration would be in the position to assemble such a large and expensive collection. In fact, the depository housing the ivories and other valuables (alabaster, gold, precious stones) was more probably a central treasury of the Egyptian administration, rather than the personal collection of one leading official ... It is far more difficult, almost impossible, to envisage a local ruler of Canaan with such a range of international contacts, not to mention expensive tastes (Singer 1988–1989: 108).

The fact is that we are largely ignorant of the details of the practice of gift-exchange and trade during this period. There are hints, however, that gifts could circulate beyond their original recipients. In a letter to an unknown king, the king of Hatti writes that he is sending this king two rhytons, one of gold and one of silver, that he had received as gifts from the king of Egypt (Zaccagnini 1987: 58). We do not know what was or was not possible for a local vassal, especially the ruler of a strategically-placed city like Megiddo. Megiddo did sit at an important crossroads through which most of the region's

trade must have passed. Whether a local prince could have taken advantage of the city's location and the agricultural wealth of the surrounding valley to amass such a fortune cannot be decided on the basis of the limits of our imagination. Indeed, the status of Megiddo cannot be determined from the contents of the treasury alone, but must be inferred from the complete corpus of relevant archaeological data available from the site, which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

An entirely different type of Egyptian activity is attested in the rock stela carved into the face of a cliff at the copper mining site of Timna' (Rothenberg 1988: 143–144, figs. 52, pl. 105). The stela bears the cartouches of Ramesses III and depicts the king making an offering to the goddess Hathor. The text beneath reads: *k3y in wh3 nsw (-ms-sw-jmj-pr-r'}, <m3'> hrw* "coming by the royal butler Ramesses-em-per-re." This inscription indicates that the Egyptians continued to exploit the copper mines of Timna' during the reign of Ramesses III. Among the high officials who led mining expeditions to the site was Ramesses-em-per-re.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the textual evidence suggests the existence of a dual system of administration. Egypt maintained a limited military presence in the form of imperial centers staffed by small numbers of soldiers and administrators. Alongside these centers were the city-states ruled by vassal princes who Egyptianized themselves to varying degrees. The mixed system is signaled most clearly by the Kadesh Bulletin text in which local rulers and Egyptians officials are held jointly accountable for the lack of accurate military intelligence.

Inscriptional evidence of pharaonic institutions exists for the sites of Beth Shan, Jaffa, and perhaps Gaza. The stela of Ramesses II and the inscribed architectural elements from the house of Ramesses-user-khepesh attest to the presence of an Egyptian garrison-host at Beth Shan during both the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The monumental door jambs engraved with the names of Ramesses II indicate some type of Egyptian royal activity at Jaffa, probably the granary installation mentioned in Amarna letter EA 294. Papyrus Harris I testifies to the existence of a temple of Amun somewhere in Palestine, proba-

bly in southern Palestine and possibly at Gaza, during the reign of Ramesses III. The foundation plaque from Aphek and the ivory plaques from Megiddo are not sufficient to demonstrate the presence of cults of Isis or Ptah in the region.

Despite the popularity of the notion, there is no evidence in the texts for a system of resident governors. Rather, the officials who have been put forward as candidates for governor can be shown to have been either circuit officials or royal envoys dispatched to the Levant to carry out a specific mission. Even the two Egyptians mentioned in the marriage correspondence of Ramesses II with the Hittite rulers as officials *in* the cities of Ramesses-miamun in Upe and Canaan were likely to have been located in those cities only temporarily, perhaps even for the express purpose of conveying the princess' dowry to Egypt. Like their counterparts in Nubia, the overseers of northern lands undoubtedly maintained their primary residence in the Egypt, although they might have spent an extended period in Palestine in the course of a visit.

The primary functions that can be demonstrated for Egyptian officials in the Levant are ones of taxation, surveillance, and mediation. In each of these areas, the Asiatic system mirrors the Nubian one. The system of taxation is illustrated by the relief in the Luxor forecourt from the reign of Ramesses II, papyrus Harris I, and the hieratic bowls from southern Palestine. The latter two suggest that the tribute of southern Palestine, when collected in the reign of Ramesses III, was directed to the treasury of the Temple of Amun. The responsibility for intelligence-gathering can be seen in the Kadesh Bulletin text from the reign of Ramesses II and in ostracon Michaelides 85 from the reign of Seti II. The Aphek letter, in which the Egyptian Haya is called upon to settle a dispute, demonstrates the role of mediation.

While Egyptians exercised oversight in the region—collecting taxes and maintaining peace—the everyday affairs of the city-states appear to have remained in the hands of the local rulers. The vassals do not appear frequently in the texts, but references to them can be found in the Kadesh Bulletin text from the reign of Ramesses II, in papyrus Anastasi III from the reign of Merneptah, and in the Megiddo ivories from the reign of Ramesses III. Nothing in the textual evidence contradicts the impression of a functioning vassal system. The large scale replacement of

local princes by pharaonic functionaries in this period cannot be documented.

The material relating to the political and military history of the region does not document a pharaonic policy of annexing Asiatic territory. There is, however, a consistent historical pattern that repeats itself for each of the Ramesside pharaohs prior to Ramesses III. Upon the succession of a new king, a number of the Levantine vassals challenged his sovereignty, forcing him to engage in one or more military campaigns to reassert his control over the region. In many cases the "rebellions" were so small and localized that the king's personal participation was not required. Once the ability and resolve of the new pharaoh had been demonstrated, the vassals tended to fall into line and accept Egyptian overlordship.

CHAPTER THREE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

INTRODUCTION

This study of the archaeological evidence involves two steps: 1) the description of the corpus of Egyptian-style material found at sites in Palestine and 2) the analysis of the distribution of the types and of the contexts in which they were found.

For the purpose of this analysis, I have divided the material culture into four categories: pottery, non-ceramic vessels, objects, and architecture. The descriptions presented below are intended as general characterizations of the corpus of material in each category. The complete typological analysis of the Egyptian-style material in each category can be found in the appendices.

Following the overview by category, I organize the archaeological evidence geographically by region and site in order to facilitate the analysis of the distribution of the material. The discussion of each site includes a general description of the site, including its location, size and identification; a brief history of its excavation and publication; and a summary of the archaeological evidence by category, focusing on Egyptian-style material. Since full references for all of the Egyptian-style pottery, non-ceramic vessels, objects, and architecture are given in Appendices A-D, respectively, they will not be repeated in full here. See the site-by-site register under the appropriate type for a complete listing of all of the published finds of that type from a given site.

EGYPTIAN-STYLE REMAINS FROM LB IIB-IRON IA PALESTINE

Pottery

The database on which this discussion relies suffers from some limitations which should be noted. The problems encountered in developing a pottery typology are discussed in full in Appendix A and are therefore only summarized here. The publication of pottery from early pre-1950' excavations generally lacks information about ware and manufacturing techniques; the drawings and descriptions contained in those publications are often not up to modern standards. With modern excavations the problem is incomplete publication. The results from some important sites are only available in preliminary reports.

The Egyptian-style pottery types found in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine represent only a small proportion of the New Kingdom Egyptian ceramic corpus. Holthoer (1977) identified fifty-four types of Egyptian-style pottery from the Scandinavian concession in Sudanese Nubia. Nagel's (1938) publication of material from Deir el-Medineh includes a number of additional types not attested in the Fadrus region of Nubia. In contrast, the typology of Egyptian-style vessels from Palestine comprises a mere nineteen entries.

Furthermore, only a small number of Egyptian-style pottery types are widely distributed in Palestine, being attested at more than four or five sites. The most common are the *Saucer Bowl* and the *Cup-and-saucer* which occur at a majority of the sites which have Egyptian-style vessels. If *Flower Pots* and *Beerbottles* are lumped together into a single category, as some have suggested they should be, they, too, are found at more than half of these sites. The other common vessels are *Handleless Storage Jars*, *Slender Ovoid Jars*, *Globular Jars*, and *Tall-necked Cups*.

For four of the Egyptian-style types in the Palestinian ceramic repertoire, the case can be made that the vessels were intended for specialized usages, suggesting that these types, at least, were consciously selected for functional reasons. The clearest example is the *Spinning Bowl*, which served a specialized function in the spinning process. The *Beerbottle* and *Flower Pot*, both characterized by a hole in the base, and the *Cup-and-saucer* with its double cup all appear to have been designed for specialized functions as well, even though no consensus exists as to what those functions were.

Missing from the Palestinian corpus are Egyptian-style cooking pots (cf. Rose 1987: fig. 10.4:63243), bread molds (cf. Nagel 1938: Type I, pp. 152-153, pl. I), bottles (cf. Holthoer 1977: Families BF, BL, BO, and BR, pp. 129-133, pl. 29) and flasks (cf. Holthoer 1977: Families FB, FL, and FF, pp. 145-148, pl. 33) to name just a few of the types which might be expected. Canopic jars (cf. Holthoer 1977: Family CA, pp. 78-79, pl. 16) and libation jars (cf. Holthoer

1977: Family HS, p. 79, pl. 16 , both linked to Egyptian rituals, are also unknown in Palestine.

The current state of the evidence indicates a large degree of local manufacture of Egyptian-style pottery, in addition to actual imports. The discovery of *Cup-and-saucers* and *Saucer Bowls* in the potter's workshop at Lachish, which otherwise yielded very little Egyptian-style pottery, suggests that at least the more common forms were made on-site. The results of neutron activation analysis are available from only three sites: Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah, and Timnaʿ. All of the tested vessels from Beth Shan proved to be imitation Egyptian (McGovern 1992: 18; James and McGovern 1993: 92 . At Deir el-Balah (Yellin, Dothan and Gould 1986; Goldberg, Gould, Killebrew and Yellin 1986; Yellin, Dothan, and Gould 1990 and Timnaʿ Rothenberg 1988: 96 100 , both Egyptian and imitation Egyptian vessels were identified. Additional studies of Egyptian-style pottery from Palestine by neutron activation and other methods will be required before it will be possible to delineate the system of production and distribution of these vessels more clearly.

It has been suggested that Palestinian potters not only imitated Egyptian pottery types, but also modified the local ceramic repertoire through the adoption of Egyptian production techniques. Many scholars have noted the introduction of straw-tempered wares and string-cut bases, which are Egyptian ceramic conventions, during LB. At the same time, the "quality" of the pottery diminishes, in terms of the fineness of the wares, the speed of the wheel, and the care with which the vessel is finished (Bienkowski 1986: 110-111). McGovern's study of craft production at Beth Shan suggests that a merging of technologies was in process, with local artisans working

> under Egyptian tutelage and compulsion . The same workshops probably also continued to produce a large quantity of standard Palestinian vessels, but quality suffered as heavily tempered, low-fired wares characteristic of New Kingdom Egypt became the norm McGovern 1990: 18 .

The nature and extent of this interaction merits further investigation.

Non-ceramic Vessels

The category of non-ceramic vessels comprises vessels made of bronze, stone—predominantly alabaster (both local gypsum and imported

calcite, faience, glass, and ivory. Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels have been found in LB IIB-Iron IA strata at fourteen sites in Palestine.

Thirteen types of Egyptian-style bronze vessels can be identified in the LB IIB-Iron IA Palestinian corpus. They were most often found in tombs. Of particular interest is a collection of bronze vessels known as a "wine set." The wine set, often depicted in Egyptian reliefs, is composed of a *Bowl*, a *Strainer*, and a juglet, *Jar*, or *Situla*. Six wine sets were found in LB IIB-Iron IA tombs in Palestine.

With few exceptions, the Egyptian-style stone vessels were alabaster. Locally made alabaster vessels can be distinguished from imports based on the kind of alabaster used. Calcite is readily available in the Nile Valley, but does not occur in Palestine or elsewhere in the Near East. Gypsum deposits are relatively common in Palestine, but gypsum vessels are rare in Egypt after the Old Kingdom. Eighteen types of Egyptian-style alabaster vessels were distributed among twelve sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. The corpus of Egyptian-style stone vessels also includes one diorite *Handled Pot*, one serpentine *Long-necked Globular Jar*, and one limestone *Duck Spoon*. The *Handled Pot* dates from the Old Kingdom; the other two are paralleled in other materials, including alabaster.

A limited corpus of Egyptian-style faience and glass vessels have been found at sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. The vast majority come from cultic contexts, especially the *Hathor Temple* at Timnaʿ. Significant numbers were also found in the temples at Beth Shan and Lachish. Chemical analysis of the colorants suggests that the faience and glass vessels unearthed at Beth Shan were imported from Egypt. The assemblage of Egyptian-style vessels consists of ten faience types and six glass types.

Cosmetic Spoons account for most of the Egyptian-style ivory vessels found in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. There are also three types of *Bowls* and a *Box*. The Egyptian parallels for these types are wooden vessels. Most of the ivory vessels derive from cultic and funerary contexts.

The various materials exhibit distinctive patterns of use. Whereas faience and glass were largely reserved for Egyptian-style vessels, bronze and gypsum were widely used for local types Gershuny 1985; Ben Dor 1945 . We do not yet have the means to identify the location of production for a particular bronze vessel, but the local manufacture of gypsum vessels in imitation of Egyptian calcite vessels has been demonstrated Ben Dor 1945 . The use of ivory to imitate

Egyptian wooden vessels is perhaps analogous, although the motivation for the substitution must have differed. The substitution of gypsum for calcite was presumably due to the unavailability of calcite. On the other hand, wood, which was rare in Egypt, was so common in Palestine that it had no prestige value there; ivory, though obtainable, was sufficiently scarce to make it a suitable substitute.

Objects

The assemblage of Egyptian-style objects is more difficult to characterize. A wide range of objects derive from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. They include: blades and weapons, objects related to animal husbandry, ritual objects, animal figurines, human and divine figurines and plaques, statues and statuettes, stelae, anthropoid sarcophagi, jewelry, pendants, scarabs and seals, toilet objects, and miscellaneous objects. Some are small, like *Rings* and *Seals*; others, such as *Statues* and *Anthropoid Sarcophagi*, are quite large. *Scarabs* and *Pendants* are ubiquitous, whereas some other types of objects are represented by a single example. Egyptian-style objects have been found in LB IIB-Iron IA strata at eighteen sites in Palestine.

Although some of the objects are difficult to date precisely, it appears that Egyptianizing objects were more common in Iron IA than in LB IIB. The Egyptianizing ivories in the Megiddo treasury have their closest parallels in the Twentieth Dynasty and must be attributed to Iron IA. The *Anthropoid Sarcophagus* from Lachish Tomb 570 also belongs to the reign of Ramesses III. On the other hand, the two *Statues* from Hazor that have some Egyptianizing features are dated LB IIB. Unfortunately the two *Stelae* from Jordan cannot be dated on independent grounds.

Architecture

There are four types of Egyptian-style buildings in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine: *Center Hall Houses, Three Room Houses, Administrative Buildings* and *Temples*. In excavation reports *Center Hall Houses* are often called "Governor's Residencies," and *Administrative Buildings* are frequently termed forts or *migdols*. *Center Hall Houses* represent Egyptian-style elite residences, whereas the *Three Room House* was the dwelling of

the common laborer. *Administrative Buildings* are quite similar in plan to Egyptian granaries of the Middle Kingdom. Although no identical structures have been found in New Kingdom Egypt, they were probably adapted from the granary model for administrative and tax collection purposes in Palestine. The *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies* is an Egyptianizing architectural type incorporating both Egyptian and local elements. By contrast, the *Hathor Temple* at Timna‘ is a purely Egyptian type.

Egyptian-style architecture was clustered in southern Palestine, and no site other than Beth Shan produced more than one Egyptian-style structure per stratum. Four *Center Hall Houses* were located in the region between Tell el-Hesi and Tell el-Far‘a S, and Lachish boasted a *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies*. The *Administrative Buildings* lay along the *Via Maris* from Haruvit in north Sinai to Aphek. The only exceptions to this rule are the Egyptian garrison at Beth Shan with its several Egyptian-style structures and a possible *Center Hall House* at Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh.

DISTRIBUTION OF EGYPTIAN-STYLE REMAINS

Limitations of the database affect the analysis of the distribution of pottery types. Only rarely do the published reports allow for a precise quantification of the finds. In many early excavations, only complete or restorable vessels were collected, unless an unusual or colorful sherd caught the excavator's eye. Sherd counts were generally not reported from Palestinian excavations, nor do the published vessels necessarily constitute a representative sample of the pottery collected. There has been a tendency to illustrate and thereby to over represent the unusual at the expense of more commonly attested types. Therefore, while I will cite such numbers as are available in the discussion of pottery distribution, I will emphasize the distribution of types rather than the quantity of vessels found at particular sites.

For an overall comparison of the Egyptian-style pottery found at the sites, see Table 2 on the following pages. The numbers recorded there and in the section below should be used with caution, since the methods of collecting and reporting ceramic finds and the percentage of the site sampled differ from excavation to excavation. Nevertheless, the available data will be quantified to the extent possible.

[handwritten marginal note: Ways of Horus an more comp than this.]

Table 2
Distribution of Egyptian-style Pottery Types in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine
Numbers indicate the number of vessels/sherds of the type reported
from a site, x indicates an unspecified quantity.

Sites / Types	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8A	8B	9	10	11A	11B	12	13	14	15A	15B	16
Tell el-ʿAjjul	10		1	1				3	2					13					
Aphek	x														1		1		
Ashdod	10		4		2														
Beth Shan	x		x	13		2?	x	2	1		1	1		1	1	5			
Beth Shemesh				2						1								2	1
Deir ʿAlla				3			16								1	1			1
Deir el-Balaḥ	x	1	x		2		x									1			1
Tell el-Farʿa S	x						1	3	6	1		2	3						2
Gezer	11			3															1
Haror	x			1															
Haruvit	x			1		5		2		3	4				7	11			
Hazor	7			6						1?									
Hesi	2?			x															
Jemmeh	3																		
Lachish	x	1		26	2												7	3	
Megiddo	22		1	35		1		3			1				5	1			1
Tel Mor	x						x												
Tell es-Safi				x															
Tell es-Saʿidiyeh	x			x			1			7	1			3	x	1			
Tel Seraʿ	x		1	x			2	1		1	7			1	1	3			
Timnaʿ	1										1					1			

Tell el-ʿAjjul

The Site

Tell el-ʿAjjul is located on the Philistine Plain at the mouth of the Wadi Ghazzeh, about four miles southwest of the modern city of Gaza and 1.5 miles east of the coast. The mound covers approximately thirty-three acres (Petrie 1931: 1–2).

The site is most often identified with Beth ʿEglayim (Biblical Beth Hogla), which Eusebius placed eight miles from Gaza (Tufnell 1975: 52). Kempinski (1974) has suggested that it should be identified instead with Sharuhen. He notes that Tell el-ʿAjjul is not the correct distance from Gaza to be Beth ʿEglayim and that its floruit occurs at precisely the time we would expect based on the references to Sharuhen in Egyptian records.

Excavation and Publication

Tell el-ʿAjjul was excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie (1931; 1932; 1933; 1934) in four seasons from 1930 until 1934 and by Ernest Mackay and Margaret Murray (1952) in one season in 1938. A comprehensive pottery register was published in *Ancient Gaza IV* (Petrie 1934: pl. LI), which provides a complete listing of the occurrences of each type attested at Tell el-ʿAjjul.

The data collected by Petrie have a number of limitations which make them difficult to assess. Only complete, restorable, or largely restorable vessels are published; no sherd counts are available. Under reporting of the material is especially acute for the occupational strata in contrast to the graves, since the latter tend to contain a higher proportion of complete or restorable vessels. The find spots for pottery from the occupational strata are given by room and absolute level, making stratigraphic assignment difficult. Finally, the drawings are sometimes too rough to indicate the features distinguishing the different types of Egyptian jars.

The stratigraphy and dating of Tell el-ʿAjjul have been discussed by a number of scholars over the decades (Albright 1938; Tufnell 1962; 1975; Epstein 1966; Negbi 1970; Kempinski 1974; 1983; Gonen 1981; 1992). Scholars challenged and revised Petrie's dating almost immediately after publication (Albright 1938). Subsequent studies adjusted the dates even further (Kempinski 1974; Gonen 1981; 1992). Most of the discussion focuses on the early periods of occupation at

Tell el-ʿAjjul, especially MB IIB and LB I (cf. Tufnell 1962; Epstein 1966; Negbi 1970; Kempinski 1983), although Albright 1938, Kempinski 1974 and Gonen 1992, deal with aspects of the dating of the later phases.

Albright 1938: 355–359 assigns "Palace" IV and Tombs 361, 368, 386, 388, 398 and 419 (the "Governor's Tomb") to LB IIB. He finds no evidence of Iron IA occupation, attributing "Palace" V to the tenth century B.C.E. Kempinski (1974: 148–149, n. 18) suggests that "Palace" IV should be dated to LB IIA and the first half of the thirteenth century B.C.E. and "Palace" V to the end of the thirteenth century through the middle of the twelfth century B.C.E. (LB IIB–Iron IA). Kempinski does not detail his reasons for redating these strata of Tell el-ʿAjjul. He lowers the chronology for the earlier strata on the basis of the intramural burials, yielding an early 18th dynasty date for "Palace" III. Presumably the date of "Palace" IV was adjusted to that of "Palace" III. Kempinski does not discuss the extramural cemeteries.

Gonen 1992: 79–82) addresses the problem of the burials, but only to assert that her studies indicate that thirteen pit burials (eight in the "Eighteenth Dynasty Cemetery" and five in the "Lower Cemetery") and two cist tombs (numbers 419, latest phase, and 1514) derive from LB IIB (her LB III). Since she does not specify which thirteen pit burials are to be so dated, her analyses cannot be used to determine which pit burials should be included in a study of the LB IIB period at Tell el-ʿAjjul.

The general character of the site during the Ramesside period is clear, however. The large (thirty-three acre) city of the MB–LB I period was now largely deserted. The post-eighteenth dynasty remains were limited to a small fortress, which, according to Kempinski, had two phases in LB IIB–Iron IA (i.e. "Palaces" IV and V), and a handful of extramural burials. The last city stratum (City I) was destroyed during LB I.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Egyptian-style pottery is quite rare in the LB IIB tombs, restricted to one *Saucer Bowl* in the latest phase of Tomb 419 (Petrie 1933: pl. XI: 36) and one *Cup-and-saucer* in Tomb 1514 (Petrie 1932: pl. LIX: Type 91V; see Duncan 1930: 91V for drawing). The remainder of the pottery in both tombs was predominantly local LB IIB, especially

bowls and dipper juglets, with a few Cypriot and Mycenaean imports. Except for the two Egyptian-style vessels, the ceramic corpus of these two cist tombs does not differ markedly from that of the other LB IIB burials which was composed of 33% imports and 67% local vessels (Gonen 1992: 20).

Since only the foundations of "Palace V" were preserved, there is no contemporary pottery to be discussed (Albright 1938: 355–356). The Egyptian-style pottery which can be attributed with some degree of confidence to "Palace IV" or its immediate environs (area P–Q) consists of three *Slender Ovoid Jars*, two *Widemouthed Ovoid Jars*, thirteen *Handleless Pyxides*, nine *Saucer Bowls*, one *Spinning Bowl* and one Egyptian-style juglet of Holthoer's Type JU1 (Petrie 1933: pl. LI). This represents roughly 30% of the reported pottery for this level. The remainder of the corpus consists of a few Cypriot imports and typical LB IIB local pottery, including rounded and carinated bowls, dipper juglets, jugs, kraters, and storage jars.

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

Only two Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels were found at Tell el-'Ajjul, an alabaster *Tazza* and a glass *Krateriskos*. The former came from Tomb 386 and the latter from Tomb 1514.

Egyptian-style Objects

The excavations of Tell el-'Ajjul produced only a handful of Egyptian-style objects, mostly in the category of *Scarabs* and *Seals*. These included a *Scarab* of Ramesses II, a *Bulla* of Thutmose III, a jar impressed with the names of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, and two Egyptian-style *Cylinder Seals*. The other Egyptian-style objects are a *Goose-shaped Brand* found in the "palace" and a *Mirror* which came from a tomb.

Aphek

The Site

Aphek was the ancient name of Tell Ras el-'Ain, a 30-acre mound near modern Petah Tikva. Also known as Pegae in the Hellenistic era and Antipatris in the Roman period, the site is located on the

eastern edge of the coastal plain near the springs of the Yarkon River. Its strategic importance in ancient times derived especially from the fact that it lay along the *Via Maris* (Kochavi 1990: vii–viii).

Excavation and Publication

Aphek was the site of two brief salvage expeditions by J. Ory (1936; 1939; Iliffe 1936) in 1935–1936 and by A. Eitan (1969; 1975) in 1961. A full-scale systematic excavation of the mound was conducted under the direction of M. Kochavi (1977; 1978; 1981; 1989; 1990) from 1972 until 1985.

Although the final report of Kochavi's excavations at Aphek is still in preparation, the pottery from the LB IIB "Residency" of Stratum X12 has been published (Beck and Kochavi 1985). The data from Stratum X11, Iron IA, are not yet available.

Egyptian-style Architecture

The Stratum X12 "Residency" is an Egyptian-style *Administrative Building*. Although smaller in scale, it is similar in plan to the *Administrative Building* at Tel Mor and to a building in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom fort at Uronarti. The large quantities of storage jars found in the structure confirm its use as a storage facility.

Egyptian-style Pottery

In addition to an unspecified number of *Saucer Bowls* made with straw-tempered clay and one *Swollen-necked Amphoriskos*, Beck and Kochavi 1985: 32–35 identify four "Egyptian" vessels: a Storage Jar (no drawing published), a cup (no drawing published, but identified as Nagel Type VI), a "duck-bowl" (no drawing published), and "a small brick-red jar with pointed base (Fig. 2:4)." The majority of the pottery from the "Residency" consisted of typical LB IIB local wares, including rounded bowls with disc bases, a large S-profile bowl, kraters, cooking pots, lamps, pilgrim flasks and storage jars. The excavators do not indicate whether Egyptian-style or local bowls predominate. The "Residency" also produced two Mycenaean vessels—

a stirrup jar and a cup, three Cypriot milk bowls, and imitation bil-
bils. Tomb 1200, which is contemporary with the "Residency," dif-
fered in the proportions of pottery types represented; there was only
1 *Saucer Bowl*, and Mycenaean and Cypriot vessels were proportion-
ately more numerous (Beck and Kochavi 1985: 32).

Egyptian-style Objects

The LB IIB "Residency" at Aphek contained several Egyptian-style
objects. In addition to three figurines that may have Egyptian
antecedents—a *Concubine* and two plaques of *Females with Hathor Curls*—
there was a *Harness Ring* in the shape of a lotus blossom, a duck-
headed *Hairpin*, and an inscribed faience *Ring*.

A contemporary tomb yielded a *Mirror* and several *Scarabs*, although
the *Scarab* of Ramesses IV was found in a pit. Similarly the faience
Tile with the names of Ramesses II and Isis of Dendera came from
a tenth-century B.C.E. silo.

Ashdod

The Site

Tel Ashdod is located in the Philistine Plain approximately 2.5 miles
inland from the Mediterranean Sea and 3.5 miles southeast of the
modern city of the same name. The mound is composed of a twenty-
acre acropolis and a lower city of at least seventy acres (M. Dothan
1975a: 103).

Excavation and Publication

Tel Ashdod was excavated in seven seasons between 1962 and 1972.
D. N. Freedman, J. Swauger, and M. Dothan directed the project
with M. Dothan as the Director of Excavations.

The publication of the Ashdod excavations is continuing. Volumes
I–IV (Dothan and Freedman 1967; M. Dothan 1971; Dothan and
Porath 1982), which have already appeared as *'Atiqot* 7, 9–10, and
15, contain only small amounts of material from the LB IIB period.
Volumes V–VI (M. Dothan in press), which are in press and will
appear as an *'Atiqot* double volume, deal with the material from Area

G, including the LB IIB strata XV–XIV. A seventh volume is cur-
rently in preparation.

Egyptian Style Pottery

Only a dozen pieces of Egyptian-style pottery, ten *Saucer Bowls*, two
Beerbottles and three *Cup-and-saucers*, are published from Ashdod. All
but one of them are from Strata XV–XIV of LB IIB date; a single
Cup-and-saucer was found in the succeeding Iron IA stratum. Stratum
XIIIB sees the introduction of Philistine ware into the ceramic cor-
pus, at which point Egyptian-style pottery is no longer found. The
predominant pottery in each of these strata is local carinated bowls,
kraters, lamps, storage jars, etc. with Cypriot and Mycenaean imports
in significant quantities.

Egyptian-style Objects

Among the objects from LB IIB-Iron IA Ashdod that have been
published to date, there are a few of Egyptian-style. These include a
Chisel, a *Seth* figurine, and *Scarabs* of Ramesses II and Ramesses III.

Beth Shan

The Site

Ancient Beth Shan (or Beth Shean) is located near the modern vil-
lage of Beisan at the southeastern end of the Jezreel Valley. It is
comprised of a high mound, Tell el-Husn, at the foot of which lie
the remains of the Hellenistic-Roman city of Scythopolis.

Beth Shan was the site of an Egyptian garrison established in the
reign of Seti I (James and McGovern 1993: 4–5). Hieroglyphic build-
ing inscriptions from the site attest to the presence of Ramesses-user-
khepesh, a military commander and civil administrator under Ramesses
III (James 1966: 174–179).

Excavation and Publication

Beth Shan was excavated for ten seasons in the 1920's and early
1930's by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania,
under the direction of C. S. Fisher, A. Rowe 1930; 1940, and
G. FitzGerald 1930, successively. The reports published by the exca-
vators are incomplete and reflect the limitations of archaeological
science at the time. Fortunately they are not the only sources avail-
able for the study of this material. The Iron Age strata received
scientific study and republication at the hands of Frances James
(1966. The volume on the LB IIB strata VIII–VII) which James
had begun before her death has been completed by Patrick McGovern
James and McGovern 1993.[1] The material from the Northern
Cemetery was published by Eliezer Oren 1973.

Y. Yadin and S. Geva 1986, conducted a single season of exca-
vations in 1983. Since 1989, Amihai Mazar (1990, has undertaken
renewed excavations at the site.

Egyptian-style Architecture

Beth Shan is the only site in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine at which
more than one Egyptian-style structure has been excavated in a sin-
gle stratum. Excavations there have uncovered *Center Hall* and *Three
Room Houses*, as well as a *Temple*.

In LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine, *Three Room Houses* have been found
only at Beth Shan. Numerous structures of this type were found in
the Level VIII/VII residential quarter. In addition, it has been sug-
gested that the "Commandant's Residence" of Level VII belongs to
this type. Although the plan of the "Commandant's Residence" is
somewhat similar to that of the *Three Room House* with interior stair-
case, the unusual installation in the main room, the thick walls, and
the proximity to a large silo suggest that the structure was proba-
bly used for industrial rather than domestic functions.

Adjacent to the "Commandant's Residence" was another non-
domestic building which may have Egyptian antecedents. The large
rectangular building which the excavators termed the *migdol* is an
Administrative Building. The thinness of the walls and the similarity of
the plan to that of Egyptian granaries suggest that the building was

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[1] The author would like to thank Patrick McGovern for allowing her to read a
pre-publication draft of the text and discussing the material with her.

not a fort, but a storage facility, perhaps in connection with the col-
lection of taxes.

Center Hall Houses with Square Main Room first appear in Level VIII/
VII where they are interspersed with *Three Room Houses* in the resi-
dential quarter. The most spectacular example, Building 1500, was
found in Level VI; the poorly preserved Building 1700, located near
Building 1500, has been reconstructed as a *Center Hall House* as well.

Building 1500 was clearly a *Center Hall House with Square Main Room*.
The plan of the structure varies from the Egyptian prototype only
in the placement of the entrance along the central axis of the build-
ing, allowing direct access from the street to the main hall. This
deviation from the norm may be an accommodation to the climate;
at Beth Shan during much of the year the breeze from the street
would have been cool and refreshing rather than hot and dusty. The
use of stone foundations is likewise appropriate in a region of higher
rainfall. In characteristically Egyptian fashion the doorways of the
brick building are framed with stone doorposts, jambs, lintels, and
T-shaped sills. Many of these stone elements bear hieroglyphic inscrip-
tions which identify the owner of the house as Ramesses-user-khep-
esh, a troop captain and great steward who was probably the highest-
ranking Egyptian official resident at Beth Shan.

The Level VII temple, rebuilt along similar lines in Level VI,
belongs to the type *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies*. Because this type
incorporates Egyptian elements in an otherwise local architectural
tradition, it can be classified as Egyptianizing.

Egyptian-style Pottery

A few Egyptian-style vessels were found in Stratum VIII, limited in
form to *Beerbottles* and *Cup-and-saucers*, but a wider range of Egyptian
types begins to appear in Stratum VII, continuing in Stratum VI.
In Stratum VII, *Spinning Bowls* were found exclusively in residential
contexts, including the "commandant's house" and the migdol. The
majority of the other Egyptian-style vessels derive from the temple
precinct. These include a *Slender Ovoid Jar*, a *Widemouthed Ovoid Jar*,
a *Roundbased Necked Jar*, *Saucer Bowls*, *Cup-and-saucers*, *Beerbottles*, and
two reported *Flower Pots*. Neither of the *Flower Pots* is complete, and
both were discarded, one without being drawn or photographed. If
they are indeed *Flower Pots* and not the lower parts of *Beerbottles*, then
this is the only site in Palestine at which both *Beerbottles* and *Flower
Pots* were found. More than forty *Saucer Bowls* were recovered from

Late Level VII storerooms south of the temple. Nevertheless, James and McGovern 1993: 238 estimate that more than 75% of the pottery from Levels VIII and VII was local LB IIB pottery rounded and carinated bowls, chalices, kraters, jugs and juglets, cooking pots, etc. In fact, "Mycenaean and Cypriot imports outnumber even Egyptian-style types." Neutron activation analysis indicates that the Egyptian-style vessels were made locally; none of the tested samples was imported from Egypt McGovern 1992: 18; James and McGovern 1993: 92 .

A number of Egyptian ceramic types appear in Stratum VI Iron IA as well, although they are not entirely the same types which appeared in the earlier strata. *Saucer Bowls, Spinning Bowls, Cup-and-saucers* and *Beerbottles* continue, and there is again one *Slender Ovoid Jar*. The new forms consist of five *Tall-necked Cups*, a *Globular Jar*, a *Handleless Pyxis*, and a *Handleless Storage Jar*. The ceramic corpus of this stratum is illustrated in ten plates James 1966: figs. 49–58 . The majority of the forms drawn there are local Iron IA. In addition, there were a few Mycenaean and Cypriot wares James 1966: 24 .

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

Egyptian-style vessels of bronze, alabaster, faience, glass, and ivory were found at Beth Shan. The vast majority, twenty of twenty-two, came from temple or tomb contexts. The exceptions are a faience *Rounded Bowl* and an alabaster *Globular Pilgrim Flask*. With the exception of alabaster, the material of the vessels can be correlated with their context. The bronze and ivory vessels were all grave goods, whereas the faience and glass vessels derive from the temples.

The non-ceramic vessels show a mixing of local and Egyptian traditions. The Egyptian-style bronze *Strainer* belonged to a wine set that comprised the *Strainer*, a local-style bronze bowl, and a local-style bronze juglet. Some of the vessels, such as the *Globular Pilgrim Flask*, were clearly of local manufacture, whereas the one glass and two faience vessels that have been subjected to chemical analysis, the *Jug*, the *Ovoid Jar*, and the *Lotiform Chalice*, were determined to be Egyptian imports McGovern 1990 .

Egyptian-style Objects

The assemblage of objects from Levels VIII–VI at Beth Shan includes a significant number that can be classified as Egyptian-style. These

objects occurred in association with objects of local types, which predominated at the site. The Egyptian-style objects derive primarily from funerary or cultic contexts.

Approximately fifty *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* were excavated in the Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan. Although most of the lids were of the naturalistic type, there were five of the grotesque type.

Most notable among the tomb offerings are the eight clay *Ushabtis*. Their presence in the *Sarcophagi* is suggestive of Egyptian funerary practices, since *Ushabtis* were standard funerary offerings in New Kingdom Egypt. At the same time, the contents of the tombs were not purely Egyptian. In one of the coffins, the *Ushabti* was found in association with figurines of Mycenaean derivation.

The other objects from the tombs are less remarkable, although the *Trapezoidal Razor* and *Fork-shaped Spear Butt* are the only examples of their types from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. In addition to Egyptian-style *Pendants* and *Scarabs*, there were *Combs* and a faience *Cylinder Seal*.

The bulk of the Egyptian-style objects came from the temples. In the Level VIII–VII temple, they were concentrated under the floors and stairs, as if intended as foundation offerings James and McGovern 1993: 241 . The *Clapper* and *Aegis Head* found in the LB IIB temple suggest a connection to the worship of the Egyptian goddess Hathor whose likeness they bear. The goddess on the *Stela* is not named and cannot be identified from the iconography; she is probably a local deity presented in Egyptian guise, like the plaques of *Females with Hathor Curls*. In the succeeding Level VI, there were no objects specifically related to Hathor. Instead there was a *Hawk* figurine, a standard form of the god Horus, and two *Model Bread Offerings* inscribed "daily offering."

Five objects from the Level V temple have also been included in the catalogue because they probably originated in the earlier levels. These are the *Stelae* of Seti I and Ramesses II, the *Statue* of Ramesses III, and the *Cylinder Seal* depicting Ramesses II shooting arrows at a target. There is no way to ascertain whether the last of these was in Beth Shan during the reign of Ramesses II or whether it was brought to the site later, but the military theme is certainly appropriate for the garrison that was stationed there at the time. The prominent place allotted to the *Stelae* and *Statue*, erected side-by-side within the temple, indicates the continued prestige that Egyptian-related objects were accorded even after the end of pharaonic sovereignty in the region.

A few Egyptian-style objects were also found in the residential areas. The most significant of these are the clay *Uraei*. Except for the Egyptian fort at Haruvit in the Sinai, they are unparalleled outside of the Nile Valley. James and McGovern (1993: 241) suggest that the *Uraei* may be associated with the worship of the Egyptian goddesses Mert Seger and Ranout or, since three have applied clay pellets as breasts, of "an amalgamation of Hathor, a principal Canaanite goddess, and a snake goddess."

Beth Shemesh

The Site

Beth Shemesh (Tell er-Rumeileh) is located in the northern Shephelah, 12.5 miles west of Jerusalem. The seven-acre mound sits atop a long, flat ridge in the middle of the Sorek Valley (Wright 1975: 248).

Excavation and Publication

Beth Shemesh was excavated by D. Mackensie (1912-1913 in 1911-1912 and by the Haverford College Expedition under the direction of E. Grant in five seasons from 1929 to 1933 (Grant 1929; 1931; 1932; 1934; and Grant and Wright 1938; 1939). The excavators made only a crude assessment of the site's stratigraphy, assigning their finds to broad ranges of dates spanning as much as 200 years. Stratum IVb covers the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, Stratum III the twelfth and eleventh centuries. Tombs 10 (= Mackensie's "East Grotto Sepulchre") and 11 are contemporary with Stratum IV (Grant and Wright 1939: 43). Tomb 11 was initially published as Tomb 1 of the Haverford College Expedition (Grant 1929: 55–59). Subsequently Grant decided to renumber the tombs beginning with number 11, so as to avoid duplicating Mackensie's numbering (Grant 1931: 7).

Egyptian-style Pottery

Egyptian-style pottery is extremely rare at Beth Shemesh, being limited to one very small (height = 167 mm) *Globular Jar*, one *Tall-necked Canaanite Jar*, two *Narrow-necked Amphoriskoi*, and two *Cup-and-saucers*. The *Globular Jar*, *Tall-necked Canaanite Jar* and the *Amphoriskoi* all derive from Tomb 11 which was in use between 1350 and 1150 B.C.E. Grant

and Wright 1939: 45). One *Cup-and-saucer* was found in Cave 591 and is dated to LB II (Grant and Wright 1939: 123–124). The locus of the other (Grant and Wright 1938: pl. XL: 29) is uncertain, but the excavators attribute the vessel to either Stratum IV (LB II) or III (Iron I).

Stratum IVb is characterized by local pottery, imitation Cypriot wares, imitation and imported Mycenaean wares and small quantities of imported Cypriot wares. In Tomb 11, in particular, imitation base-ring vessels outnumber imported ones, imported white-slip vessels are completely lacking, and the majority of the pottery is local LB IIB (Grant and Wright 1939: 125–126). Philistine pottery predominates in Stratum III (Grant and Wright 1939: 127).

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

The excavations at Beth Shemesh produced a diorite *Handled Pot* dated to the Old Kingdom, an ivory *Duck Spoon*, and six alabaster vessels: two *Cosmetic Spoons*, two *Kohl Pots*, one *Tazza*, and one *Long-necked Globular Jar*. The *Tazza* was in Tomb 10; the others derive from occupational strata.

Egyptian-style Objects

The Egyptian-style objects from Beth Shemesh are limited to a few types of small objects that would have been easily transportable and integrated into the local cultural context. The eight plaques showing *Females with Hathor Curls* are truly Egyptianizing since they combine Egyptian and local artistic traditions to depict a local goddess. The *Plaque Mold* is too broken to determine if it combines traditions in a similar fashion. The only other Egyptian-style objects are *Pendants* and *Scarabs*, including two *Scarabs* of Ramesses I, two of Seti I, four of Ramesses II, and one of Ramesses III.

Deir 'Alla

The Site

Tell Deir 'Alla is a prominent mound on the east bank of the Jordan River, located approximately 7.5 miles northeast of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan Rivers (Franken 1975: 321).

Excavation and Publication

The site was excavated in the 1960's by H. J. Franken of the University of Leyden. The pottery from the early Iron Age strata at Deir 'Alla has been published in a volume devoted to an analysis of the pottery manufacturing techniques in use at the site (Franken 1969). The imports (or suspected imports) are given short shrift, and the typology of locally-made ceramics is organized according to features related to manufacturing techniques rather than stylistic categories used at other sites. While the analysis provides an important contribution to our understanding of pottery technology, it makes comparative work difficult. For instance, lamps and bowls are grouped together, making it impossible to get a separate count of the bowls. The pottery from the LB IIB shrine is available only in preliminary reports (Franken 1960; 1961; 1962; 1964).

Egyptian-style Pottery

Egyptian-style pottery is extremely rare at Deir 'Alla before the Iron IB period. The only Egyptian-style vessel found in the LB IIB shrine was a single *Cup-and-saucer*. The rest of the pottery in the shrine consisted of local Jordanian LB IIB wares and a few Mycenaean stirrup jars (Franken 1961: 367). Two *Cup-and-saucer* fragments were found in the Iron I strata, but Franken (1969: 142) does not specify whether they come from Levels A–D (Iron IA) or E–L (Iron IB). Sixteen *Beerbottles*, a *Handleless Storage Jar* and four *Tall-necked Cups* were uncovered in Iron IB or unstratified contexts. The remainder of the Iron I pottery corpus is largely local, with the exception of fragments of Philistine ware found in Strata A–D (Franken 1969: 245).

The presence or absence of *Saucer Bowls* in the Deir 'Alla assemblage is not easily determined. It is extremely difficult to utilize Franken's publication to reconstruct the full range of attested vessel shapes since bases, rims, and wall profiles are discussed separately. The few complete profiles published do not appear to represent Egyptian-style *Saucer Bowls*, although that is hardly conclusive evidence of their absence.

Egyptian style Non-ceramic Vessels

Two faience vessels were found at Deir 'Alla, a *Jug* and an *Ovoid Jar*. The latter is especially significant because it bears the cartouche of

the Egyptian queen Tawosret. The *Jug* came from the Iron Age strata, and the *Ovoid Jar* from the Late Bronze sanctuary.

Egyptian-style Objects

The excavations at Deir 'Alla produced only a few small Egyptian-style objects of two types, *Scarabs* and *Combs*.

Deir el-Balaḥ

The Site

The coastal site of Deir el-Balaḥ lies buried under sand dunes about fourteen km southwest of the modern city of Gaza (T. Dothan 1979: 1). The evidence suggests that Deir el-Balaḥ was an Egyptian installation which "functioned both as an economic and administrative center and as a military outpost during different phases of its existence" (T. Dothan 1987: 121).

Excavation and Publication

Deir el-Balaḥ was excavated from 1972 until 1982 by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Exploration Society under the direction of Trude Dothan. Because the site lies under high sand dunes, only a tiny portion of it was excavated, and the geographical limits of the settlement have not been determined (T. Dothan 1987: 121–123).

Nine tombs from the LB II cemetery, including both pit burials and anthropoid sarcophagi, have been published (T. Dothan 1979; Beit-Arieh 1985). Brief discussions of the excavations of the settlement area have also appeared (T. Dothan 1985; 1987). The final report on the settlement at Deir el-Balaḥ is in preparation and will be published as a *Qedem* volume.[1]

Egyptian-style Pottery

Eleven *Saucer Bowls*, two *Tazze*, a *Tall-necked Cup*, a *Tall-necked Canaanite Jar*, a *Flanged-rim Bowl*, and the neck of an Egyptian-style jug were found in the tombs. Local and Egyptian-style vessels occur in approximately equal numbers. In addition, there were two Mycenaean vessels, one imitation Mycenaean piriform jar, and three imitation Cypriot vessels. The tombs were especially rich in non-ceramic finds, most of which evince Egyptian connections. Although four of the published burials were in anthropoid sarcophagi, there is no indication of any attempts at mummification (T. Dothan 1979).

Although the ceramic assemblage from the settlement is largely unpublished, T. Dothan informs me that the majority of the pottery from the LB II settlement at Deir el-Balah was of Egyptian-style (T. Dothan, personal communication). *Spinning Bowls* were found in Stratum VI-IV when the excavated area became an artisans' quarter and industrial site. The *Beerbottles* and *Saucer Bowls* continue in the Iron IA pits in which Philistine wares are the most prevalent type (T. Dothan 1985: 42).

The three reports of neutron activation analysis studies published to date reveal that some of the Egyptian-style pottery was clearly locally manufactured and some was apparently imported from the Nile Valley. The *Beerbottles* and other types analyzed in 1980 proved to be of local manufacture (Yellin, Dothan and Gould 1986; Goldberg, Gould, Killebrew and Yellin 1986). A more recent study of Egyptian-style vessels with white burnished slip suggests that these vessels were imported (Yellin, Dothan, and Gould 1990).

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

No faience, glass, or ivory vessels have been published from Deir el-Balah. The tombs at Deir el-Balah produced five bronze vessels and three alabaster vessels. The bronze vessels included a wine set composed of a *Strainer*, a *Jar*, and a *Bowl* of Type 5. A *Platter* and a *Jug* were found in Tomb 118 along with a *Lotiform Chalice* and a *Swimming-girl Spoon*, both of alabaster. An alabaster *Long-necked Globular Jar* was in the same tomb as the wine set, Tomb 114.

: Except where specifically noted, the discussion of the pottery from the Deir el-Balah settlement site is based on personal communication from T. Dothan.

Egyptian-style Objects

A variety of Egyptian-style objects were found in the tombs at Deir el-Balah. A group of three blades—a *Notched Razor*, a *Hoof-handled Knife*, and a *Papyrus Needle*—came from Tomb 114, which also contained a *Mirror*. Another *Mirror* was found in Tomb 118. The small objects included *Rings*, *Pendants*, *Scarabs*, and a *Stamp Seal*. Both the *Stamp Seal* and one of the *Scarabs* bore the name of Ramesses II. There was also a copy of a *Scarab* of a Twelfth Dynasty official.

Anthropoid Sarcophagi were especially characteristic of the Deir el-Balah cemetery. Approximately forty *Sarcophagi* were removed from the cemetery by looters. Illicit excavations also unearthed four funerary *Stelae*.

Although the final publication of the occupational strata is still in preparation, the preliminary reports indicate that among the objects from the Iron IA levels was a *Concubine* figurine.

Dothan

The Site

Dothan is located twenty-two km north of Shechem beside an ancient road that connected the hill country with the Jezreel Valley. The mound covers an area of about twenty-five acres (Ussishkin 1975a: 337).

Excavation and Publication

Dothan was excavated by J. P. Free of Wheaton College from 1953 to 1960. Although evidence of extensive occupation in the Early Bronze, Middle Bronze IIB, Iron II, and Hellenistic periods was uncovered, few remains from the Late Bronze and Iron I periods were found. The most important is Tomb 1, which contained approximately one hundred bodies and one thousand complete vessels (Ussishkin 1975a: 338). The tomb was accessed by a "circular stone-lined pit which diminished in size until it funneled into a square-cut shaft in the bedrock" (Free 1959: 23).

With the exception of the bronze vessels from Tomb 1, published by Gershuny 1985 as part of her study of Palestinian bronze vessels, the results of the excavations have been published only in brief preliminary reports (Free 1953; 1954; 1955; 1956; 1957; 1958; 1959;

1960. The report of the excavation of Tomb 1 includes a list of the vessels and objects found:

> Totals of pottery objects in the tomb included 205 lamps, 173 pyxides, 155 jugs, 169 bowls, 52 pots, 53 chalices, 14 pilgrim flasks, 8 craters, 5 *zirs*, 8 stirrup cups, 6 bilbils, 3 funnels, a Cypriote "milk bowl," another Cypriote bowl with wishbone handle; all of these, together with some not mentioned, total 916 pottery vessels.

> Some fifty bronze objects were found in the tomb, including parts of 12 bowls, 7 spear points, 18 daggers, 1 knife, 6 rings, 2 pairs of tweezers, a hairpin, and 3 miscellaneous. Of other materials there were four scarabs, 4 spindle whorls, a seal with a gazelle head inscribed, and a miniature hammer of bone, scarcely 3 inches long Free 1960: 12.

On the basis of her examination of the pottery from the tomb to which she had access, Gershuny 1985: 31, dated Levels 5 4 to LB IIB, Level 3 to the transition from LB to Iron, and Levels 2 1 to Iron I.

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

Tomb 1 at Dothan produced sixteen bronze *Bowls* of Types 1 6. In addition to the Egyptian-style vessels, there were twelve local-style bronze bowls and one bronze lamp, also a local type.

Tell el-Far'a (S)

The Site

Tell el-Far'a (South) is located in the Wadi Ghazzeh, fifteen miles south of the city of Gaza and 18.5 miles west of Beersheva. The mound covers an area of sixty-six dunams (Yisraeli 1975: 1074. It is usually identified with ancient Sharuhen (Albright 1929; Yisraeli 1975; but see Kempinski 1974), although Petrie (1930) associates it with Biblical Beth Pelet.

Excavation and Publication

Tell el-Far'a (S was excavated and published by Sir Flinders Petrie (1930), J. L. Starkey and Lankester Harding (1932) in the late 1920's and early 1930's. The pottery for the first volume was published by

Duncan 1930), who used Petrie's system of pottery classification throughout. The rudimentariness of the stratigraphical analysis and the typological system make it difficult to date the material closely. It appears that very little of the tell pottery was saved, so that no information is available on Egyptian-style ceramics from the area of the "Residency." The published corpus is limited to restorable vessels and derives almost exclusively from the tombs, which undoubtedly skews the database immeasurably.

Egyptian-style Architecture

Tell el-Far'a (S) is the only site in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine to yield a completely Egyptian-style, rather than Egyptianizing, *Center Hall House*. Building YR, termed the "Residency" by Petrie, is a *Center Hall House with Square Main Room*. The structure was probably in use from the early twelfth to the early eleventh century B.C.E. The plan of Building YR is thoroughly Egyptian, without any local modifications to distinguish it from the *Center Hall Houses* found at Amarna. In line with Egyptian construction techniques the building had brick foundations, and the foundation trench was probably lined with sand.

Egyptian-style Pottery

The LB II and Iron Age tombs at Tell el-Far'a (S) produced a number of Egyptian-style jars of various types. The dating of individual tombs to precise phases of LB II and Iron I is problematic. The tombs included here are either from Cemetery 900 or have pottery assemblages similar to the earliest Philistine tombs cf. T. Dothan 1982: 30 for a discussion of the dating of the tombs. Eliminating tomb groups suspected of dating to Iron IB yields a corpus of one *Beerbottle*, three *Slender Ovoid Jars*, six *Widemouthed Ovoid Jars*, one *Funnel-necked Jar*, two *Roundbased Necked Jars*, three *Flatbased Necked Jars*, two *Tall-necked Canaanite Jars*, and many *Saucer Bowls*. Local LB II and Iron I pottery predominates in the tombs, including carinated bowls, kraters, jugs and juglets, storage jars and lamps. There are also Mycenaean and Cypriot imports in the LB deposits and Philistine wares in the Iron Age tombs. Tomb 532, use of which may have begun in late Iron IA, produced both Egyptian-style and Philistine pottery.

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

Egyptian-style vessels of bronze, alabaster, limestone, and ivory were found in the excavations of Tell el-Far'a (S). In addition to an incomplete wine set of a bronze *Bowl* and *Strainer*, there were three other bronze *Bowls*. The *Duck Spoon* is represented in three materials: alabaster, limestone, and ivory. Ten alabaster *Tazze*, probably all specifically gypsum, an ivory *Ledge-handled Bowl*, and an ivory *Box* complete the corpus of Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels. All but the *Box*, which was found in the "Residency," came from tombs.

Egyptian-style Objects

Three of the tombs at Tell el-Far'a (S) contained *Anthropoid Sarcophagi*. One or two of them fall within the LB IIB-Iron IA period. Tomb 935 is dated to LB IIB; it held a *Sarcophagus*, but no lid. Tomb 552 is one of the earliest Philistine tombs at Tell el-Far'a (S); its *Anthropoid Sarcophagus* could be as early as Iron IA, although an Iron IB date is more likely.

Royal names appear relatively frequently on objects from Tell el-Far'a (S). Not only were there 38 *Scarabs* bearing the name of Ramesses II, but *Scarabs* of Seti I, Merneptah (2 examples), Seti II, Ramesses III (4 examples), Ramesses IV, and Ramesses VIII were found as well. Two *Scarabs* read simply *r'-mss* and could refer to either Ramesses I or II. There were also two *Stamp Seals* with the name of Ramesses II and a pithos fragment in which the names of Seti II had been impressed.

In addition to the numerous *Scarabs* and *Stamp Seals* without royal names, the Egyptian-style objects included *Pendants*, *Rings*, and a *Kohl Stick*. Two of the *Rings* were decorated with depictions of Egyptian gods on the bezel. A gold *Ring* bears the likeness of Bes, and one of red jasper is engraved with two antithetical images of Seth.

Gezer

The Site

Gezer (Tell Jezer) is located in the Judean Hills on the edge of the northern Shephelah, five miles southeast of the modern city of Ramla. The mound covers an area of approximately thirty acres (Dever 1975: 428).

Excavation and Publication

Gezer has been excavated twice, by Macalister (1912) at the beginning of the century and by Hebrew Union College beginning in 1964. The HUC expedition was directed by G. E. Wright, W. G. Dever, and J. D. Seger, successively. Three volumes of the renewed excavations have appeared (Dever, Lance, and Wright 1970; Dever, ed., 1974; 1986), permitting a characterization of the site in LB IIB, Stratum XV, and Iron IA, Strata XIV-XIII. The correlations which they provide with Macalister's work allow a limited use of his data as well (Dever, ed. 1986: fig. 2). Nevertheless, only tentative conclusions can be drawn about the pottery from Macalister's excavations, since his drawings are little more than rough sketches.

Egyptian-style Architecture

[handwritten margin note: Refutation of Egyptian arch.]

Despite several claims that have been advanced suggesting that various buildings at Gezer be identified as "Residencies" or *Center Hall Houses*, none of the structures excavated at Gezer exhibit the defining characteristics of the type.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Gezer has produced very little Egyptian-style pottery. From the renewed excavations only three *Cup-and-saucers* and eleven *Saucer Bowls* can be cited. One vessel from Macalister's tomb corpus may be of Egyptian type. A storage jar with wide neck (Macalister 1912: pl. LXXXVII: 17) appears to be a *Tall-necked Canaanite Jar*. Local pottery predominates at Gezer in LB and Iron I. Philistine ware first appears in general Stratum XIII of the early to mid-twelfth century (Dever, ed. 1986: 80-81).

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

Of the material categories, only alabaster was present in large quantities at Gezer. A total of fifteen alabaster vessels of eight types were found there. In addition, an alabaster vessel fragment, too small to be identifiable by type, was found in Cave 15II; it bears the prenomen of Ramesses II (Macalister 1912 II: 339, III: pl. XXIV: 1). Most, if not all, of the five *Tazze* are calcite imports. The published information is not sufficient to determine whether the other alabaster vessels

are calcite or gypsum. In addition, a bronze *Bowl*, an ivory *Duck Spoon*, two faience *Rounded Bowls*, and a faience *Ovoid Jar* can be identified as Egyptian-style. There was also a faience sherd inscribed with a pair of cartouches Macalister 1912 II: 235, fig. 388 . Although the published sketch is crude, it appears to read *wsr-m3't-'r' mry-imn r'-mss hk3-[iwn]*, the names of Ramesses III. At Gezer the Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels were not limited to tomb contexts, but came from occupational strata as well.

Egyptian-style Objects

The excavations at Gezer produced a number of small objects of Egyptian-style. The most noteworthy is the ivory *Plaque* of Merneptah, which is the only object of its type found in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. The names of other kings appeared on *Scarabs*, of which there were three of Ramesses II and one of Ramesses VIII, and on a *Stamp Seal* of Ramesses III. The other Egyptian-style objects consisted of a *Bulla*, a *Comb*, two faience *Rings*, three plaques depicting *Females with Hathor Curls*, and several *Pendants*.

Tel Haror

The Site

Tel Haror is located on the northern bank of the Wadi Gerar, about twenty km west of Beersheva. It is composed of a fifteen-dunam acropolis and a 150-dunam lower mound 'Oren et al. 1991: 3).

Excavation and Publication

Excavations at Tel Haror began in 1982 and are continuing. The Land of Gerar Expedition, of which the Tel Haror Excavations form a part, is directed by Eliezer Oren of Ben Gurion University of the Negev. Preliminary reports covering the first six seasons have been published 'Oren, Morrison, and Gilead 1986; Oren et al. 1991 ."

' Eliezer Oren graciously invited the author to come to Ben Gurion University to see the material from Tel Haror and to discuss it with him. The summary of the ceramic evidence is based on the author's observations and on those conversations, as well as on the published reports.

Egyptian-style Pottery

In area D, LB-Iron I pottery similar to that of Tel Sera' Strata X VIII was found in refuse pits beneath Iron II architecture. The unpublished vessels apparently include *Saucer Bowls* along with local storage jars and kraters Oren, Morrison, and Gilead 1986: 74 .

In Area K, Stratum 3 is dated to the transition from LB to Iron Age. While local pottery of the end of the thirteenth century predominates, there are also imported Cypriot and Mycenaean IIIB vessels. The Egyptian-style vessels include the base of a *Flower Pot* or *Beerbottle*, a *Cup-and-saucer*, and *Saucer Bowls*.

Haruvit

The Site

Haruvit site A-289 is located in northern Sinai, approximately twelve km east of el-'Arish. It consists of a 2500-sq. m. fort which in ancient times stood along the "Ways of Horus" and served as an Egyptian military installation Oren 1987: 84–87).

Excavation and Publication

A-289 is one of several New Kingdom sites in the Haruba area, studied as a part of Ben Gurion University's North Sinai Survey, led by Eliezer Oren between 1979 and 1982. To date the excavations at Haruvit have appeared only in preliminary reports Oren 1980; 1987).⁷

Egyptian-style Pottery

The Egyptian-style pottery from Haruvit consists of five *Flower Pots*, two *Slender Ovoid Jars*, three *Funnel-necked Jars*, four *Globular Jars*, eleven *Tall-necked Cups*, seven *Handleless Storage Jars*, one *Cup-and-saucer*, and numerous *Saucer Bowls*. At Haruvit, as at all the Ramesside period sites in North Sinai excavated by Oren, the majority of the pottery

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⁷ Eliezer Oren invited the author to study the material from Haruvit and the other North Sinai sites at Ben Gurion University. He was very generous in granting her full access to the finds and the records of the excavations. The summary below is based on her examination of the pottery and her discussions of the material with Oren.

was LB IIB–Iron IA Palestinian, including carinated kraters, flasks, and storage jars (Oren 1987: 95, 108). There were also imported and imitation Mycenaean and Cypriot wares.

Egyptian-style Objects

~~The fort at Haruvit contained only a limited number of Egyptian-style objects, but the particular types that are represented are interesting. Haruvit is the only site besides Beth Shan with clay *Uraeus* figurines. It is also the only site other than Tell el-Far'a (S) where a pithos fragment impressed with the name of Seti II was found. Considering how rare attestations of his name are in Palestine, the discovery the two pithoi is important to establish active Egyptian involvement in the region during his reign.~~ Other Egyptian-style objects from the fort include a *Sphinx* figurine, four clay *Duck Heads*, and a *Scarab* bearing the name of Ramesses II.

overstated! →

Hazor

The Site

Hazor (Tell el-Qedah) is located in the Huleh Basin at the eastern foot of the Upper Galilee mountain range, 8.5 miles north of the Sea of Galilee. ~~The mound is extremely large by Palestinian standards. The acropolis alone covers 30 acres; the lower city stretches across an additional 175 acres (Yadin 1975a).~~

Excavation and Publication

The James A. de Rothschild Expedition, under the direction of Yigael Yadin (Yadin et al. 1958; 1960; 1961; 1989), excavated the site in 1955–1958. Publication of the material was not completed before Yadin's death in 1984. The text of *Hazor* III/IV, the plates of which had appeared in 1961, was completed under the editorship of Amnon Ben-Tor. The volume attempts to incorporate Yadin's later reinterpretations of the data within the reports written by the excavation supervisors. The results are uneven, and the ceramic analysis often suffers from this procedure. Some of the plates are scarcely mentioned in the text, because the stratigraphic assignment of the loci they represent has been placed in doubt by the competing interpretations.

Egyptian-style Pottery

The excavations at Hazor produced relatively little Egyptian-style pottery datable to LB IIB or Iron IA. Only two examples of *Saucer Bowls* could be securely assigned to Stratum 1A (LB IIB). Five others derive from contexts in which Strata 1A and 1B could not be separated. Six *Cup-and-saucers* were found in Area F, where again the strata were difficult to separate. Five of them come from the deposit of cult-vessels near the altar; the other was found in a room of a nearby building. The only other noteworthy vessel is a rim sherd (Yadin et al. 1961: pl. CLIX: 15). It could be either a *Beerbottle* or a *Funnel-necked Jar* and was found on a floor of the orthostat temple which belongs to either Stratum 1B (LB IIA) or Stratum 1A (LB IIB) (Yadin et al. 1989: 22). Local pottery predominates at Hazor during LB IIB, although Cypriot and Mycenaean imports do occur (Yadin et al. 1989: 264–271).

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

Among the large numbers of finely crafted alabaster vessels from Hazor, three are Egyptian-style: a *Kohl Pot*, a *Short-necked Globular Jar*, and a *Deep Bowl*. No other Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels were found at Hazor.

Egyptian-style Objects

~~The only objects from Hazor that can be described unequivocally as Egyptian-style are the *Scarabs*.~~ The *Kohl Stick* may be more broadly Near Eastern than Egyptian, the glass rod that was termed a *Scepter* by the excavators is too fragmentary to be identified for certain, and the two basalt *Statues* are more Egyptianizing than Egyptian-style, since they combine Egyptian and Syrian conventions.

Tell el-Hesi

The Site

Tell el-Hesi is a large mound in the southern Coastal Plain, about fifteen miles northeast of the city of Gaza. Usually identified with ancient Eglon, it consists of an eleven-acre acropolis and a twenty-two-acre lower city (Amiran and Worrell 1975: 514).

Excavation and Publication

Sir Flinders Petrie 1891` and Frederick Bliss (1898 excavated Tell el-Hesi at the end of the last century. The stratigraphical analysis, ceramic typology, and method of reporting are rather primitive. As a result, only tentative conclusions about the remains can be drawn. The relevant strata from the renewed excavations at the site have not yet been published.

Egyptian-style Architecture

A Center Hall House with Long Main Room was found in City IV, dating to LB IIB. The building had Egyptian-style foundations constructed of bricks laid in a trench lined with sand.

Egyptian-style Pottery

The pottery drawings and discussions published by Petrie 1891: pl. VI: 103 and Bliss (1894: pl. 174) indicate clearly that *Cup-and-saucers* were found in this period. Two bowls drawn by Petrie 1891: pl. VII: 111–112) could be Egyptian-style *Saucer Bowls*, but since descriptions are lacking, we cannot be certain. No other Egyptian pottery types are illustrated. The bulk of the pottery in their plates is local LB II and Iron I forms. Cypriot and Mycenaean wares are also attested.

Egyptian-style Objects

Although the absolute number of Egyptian-style objects from Tell el-Hesi is quite small, they are of a variety of different types. In addition to the ubiquitous *Scarabs* and *Pendants*, the other small objects consist of a *Kohl Stick* and a figurine of the Egyptian god *Ptah*. The only *Lugged Axehead* found in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine came from Tell el-Hesi. A jar handle impressed with the name of Amenhotep II was found in the LB IIB strata.

Jaffa

The Site

The ancient site of Jaffa Joppa' is now incorporated within the modern metropolis of Tel Aviv-Yafo.

Excavation and Publication

The area chosen for the first expedition to Jaffa did not yield remains earlier than the fifth century B.C.E. Bowman, Isserlin, and Rowe 1955 . More extensive excavations directed by J. Kaplan 1964; 1967; 1970; 1972; 1974; H. and J. Kaplan 1975 beginning in 1955 uncovered LB and Iron Age remains. Only preliminary reports of the excavations at Jaffa were published before Kaplan's death.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Since the pottery from Jaffa has not yet been published, we cannot discuss it in detail. Nevertheless, my examination of the material in storage or on display at the Museum of the Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa suggests that local LB II and Iron I vessels predominate.[a]

Tell Jemmeh

The Site

Tell Jemmeh Tel Gamma, is a twelve-acre mound in the Wadi Ghazzeh, six miles south of the city of Gaza and six miles from the Mediterranean coast. B. Mazar's (1952) suggestion that it be identified with ancient Yurṣa is generally accepted (Amiran and Van Beck 1975: 545).

Excavation and Publication

One season of excavation at Tell Jemmeh was conducted by Petrie (1928) during 1926 27 and published under the title *Gerar*, the ancient name with which he erroneously associated the site. Although the work suffers from the same limitations as his excavations of Tell el-'Ajjul see above , i.e. primitive stratigraphical analysis and reporting, the restriction to one season avoids some of the complications encountered there. Petrie does not seem to have penetrated into the LB layers at Jemmeh. His Stratum J K represents the first Philistine

occupation level Van Beek 1972 and should be dated to Iron IA. Subsequent excavations by Gus Van Beek 1972; 1974a; 1974b; 1977; 1983 uncovered LB IIB occupation. These excavations have appeared only in brief preliminary reports.

Egyptian-style Architecture

Petrie's excavations at Tell Jemmeh uncovered one poorly preserved structure which may be a *Center Hall House with Long Main Room*. Building JF, as reconstructed by Oren, is quite similar in plan to the *Center Hall Houses* at Medinet Habu and Tell el-Hesi. Unfortunately the poor state of preservation of the building renders the reconstruction uncertain.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Petrie's Stratum J-K produced only three Egyptian-style *Saucer Bowls*. The rest of the pottery was either Philistine Petrie 1928: pl. LXIII: 14 39, or local Iron IA pottery, including S-profile bowls, rounded bowls, jugs and juglets, a cooking pot and a krater. One vessel appears to be a Mycenaean piriform jar pl. LX: Type 88J.

Egyptian-style Objects

Other than *Scarabs* the only Egyptian-style objects found at Jemmeh were two blades: a *Notched Razor* and a *Hoof-handled Knife*.

Lachish

The Site

Lachish Tell ed-Duweir is a large mound in the Shephelah, approximately 18.5 miles southeast of Ashkelon Ussishkin 1975b.

Excavation and Publication

Lachish was excavated by J. Starkey from 1932 until his death in 1938. Olga Tufnell published the material from the Fosse Temple Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940 and the Bronze Age strata Tufnell 1958. Only preliminary reports of the renewed excavations led by

David Ussishkin 1978a; 1978b; 1983; 1985 of Tel Aviv University have been published to date, although the pottery from Strata VII LB IIB and VI Iron IA were analyzed by Eli Yanai 1986 for his master's thesis at Tel Aviv University.

One of the most important results of Ussishkin's excavations was a revision of the relative chronology of the Fosse Temple and the tell strata. Ussishkin 1985 determined that the third phase of the temple is contemporary with Stratum VII and not with Stratum VI. Thus, Stratum VI, representing the continued occupation of the city after the destruction of the Fosse Temple, constitutes the Iron IA period at Lachish. For the purposes of this study, then, only data from the third temple and Strata VII-VI will be considered.

Egyptian-style Architecture

A poorly-preserved *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies* was found in Stratum VI. This type is classified as Egyptianizing because it incorporates Egyptian elements within an indigenous architectural tradition.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Tufnell reports the finding of twenty-three *Saucer Bowls* and twenty-six *Cup-and-saucers* from these contexts. Of the bowls, eight came from the temple area, eight from the potter's workshop, and seven from tombs. Sixteen of the *Cup-and-saucers* derive from the temple area, six from the potter's workshop and four from tombs. There were also ten Egyptian-style *Amphoriskoi* found in the original excavations, seven with swollen neck and three with narrow neck, two *Tazza*, and one *Flanged-rim Bowl*. The only Egyptian-style vessels reported by Yanai are *Saucer Bowls*, for which no quantification is given. In all of the reports, local LB IIB and Iron IA pottery predominates. All of the common local vessels types are found at Lachish, including rounded and carinated bowls, lamps, chalices, goblets, kraters, jugs, juglets, flasks, cooking pots, and storage jars. One feature which distinguishes Lachish from other contemporary sites is that only one imported vessel was recovered from tell Strata VII VI and the tombs

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* Eli Yanai was kind enough to make a copy of his thesis available to the author for her research. The summary below includes information which to date appears only in that unpublished thesis.

attributed to those levels; Philistine sherds are similarly lacking Yanai 1986: II . In contrast, both Mycenaean and Cypriot wares were found in Fosse Temple III.

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

With the exception of the Hathor temple at the mining site of Timna', Lachish produced the largest quantity of Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels, forty-six. Alabaster was especially common, accounting for nineteen of the vessels. Of the eighteen alabaster types, fourteen were represented in the Lachish corpus. There were also nine vessels of faience three *Rounded Bowls*, three *Pilgrim Flasks*, a *Hathor-headed Bowl*, a *Loop-handled Bowl*, and a *Jug* and eight of glass three *Amphoriskoi*, two *Krateriskoi*, two *Palm Kohltubes*, and a *Pilgrim Flask* . Two human heads and two ibex heads found in the Fosse Temple probably belonged to ivory *Swimming-girl Spoons*. An ivory *Duck Spoon*, three ivory *Spoon Lids*, a bronze *Jar*, and a serpentine *Long-necked Globular Jar* complete the corpus of Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels. Most of these vessels derive from temple or tomb contexts.

Egyptian-style Objects

Most of the Egyptian-style objects found at Lachish came from the LB IIB Fosse Temple. There were three types of animal figurines, all of ivory—a *Bull*, a *Duck Head*, and a *Cat*, which was originally attached to another object, such as a *Comb*. The one *Comb* found in the temple, however, had the square-ended shape and would not have been decorated with an animal topper. The original function of the ivory hand is similarly indeterminate. It may have been part of a *Composite Statue* or a *Swimming-girl Cosmetic Spoon*. There were also several ivory *Spindles*.

Scarabs and *Seals* were well represented in the Fosse Temple, including one of the four *Bullae* in our catalogue. The "lion hunt" *Scarab* describing the prowess of Amenhotep III in hunting lions in Syria-Palestine is clearly an heirloom piece from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Smaller *Scarabs* bearing just the prenomen of Amenhotep III were found in the same room of the temple Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 70 71 . One object from the temple, a faience ring, did name the Nineteenth Dynasty king Ramesses II.

The numerous pendants included one in the form of an aegis of Hathor. Since such pendants were utilized in Egypt to identify the owner of cultic equipment, the presence of an aegis of Hathor pendant in the Fosse Temple could suggest that she was among the deities venerated there. The *Tile*, which may have been placed under the floor as a foundation deposit, is another indication of the incorporation of Egyptian elements into the rituals of the temple.

The tomb deposits from Lachish have certain affinities with those from nearby Deir el-Balah, although the absolute and relative numbers of Egyptian-style objects were much smaller at Lachish. Tombs at both sites produced *Anthropoid Sarcophagi*, a *Notched Razor*, and a *Hoof-handled Knife*. One of the two Lachish *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* bore a crude hieroglyphic inscription. Other objects from the Lachish tombs included *Stamp Seals*, *Scarabs*, *Spindles*, and a *Comb*. Among the *Scarabs* were two inscribed with the prenomen of Ramesses II.

Egyptian-style objects, including three *Scarabs* of Ramesses II and one of Ramesses III, were found in occupational strata on the tell. One of the two plaques depicting *Females with Hathor Curls* came from the potter's workshop, a good indication that such plaques were locally produced. The function of the *Ma'at Feather*, found buried in a cache at the base of a house wall, is unclear. Whether it was hidden because of the value of its metal or because of its symbolic value cannot be determined from the available evidence.

Megiddo

The Site

Megiddo Tell el-Mutesellim is located on the edge of the Jezreel Valley, guarding the point where the *Via Maris* crossed from the Carmel Ridge by way of the Nahal Iron. The mound covers an area of about fifteen acres Yadin 1975b .

Excavation and Publication

Megiddo was first excavated by G. Schumacher (1908) of the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas from 1903 to 1905. From 1925 until 1939, the site was excavated by C. S. Fisher, P. L. O. Guy 1938, and G. Loud 1939; 1948, successively, on behalf of the

Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Currently a joint expedition of Tel Aviv University and Penn State University is excavating the site under the direction of Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern.

Although the stratigraphical analysis of the University of Chicago excavations at Megiddo was not up to modern standards, the material received detailed publication and is relatively accessible. The data can be used with care to draw a general picture of the site during the thirteenth Stratum VIIB and twelfth Stratum VIIA centuries.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Considering the large exposure achieved, the occupational strata on the tell (Loud 1948) produced only very limited quantities of Egyptian-style pottery from this period. The most common vessel was the *Cup-and-saucer*, of which twenty-one specimens were published. One *Globular Jar*, one *Tall-necked Cup*, one *Spinning Bowl*, one *Tall-necked Canaanite Jar*, four *Handleless Storage Jars*, and five *Saucer Bowls* were attributed to Stratum VII. The *Storage Jars* and *Saucer Bowls* derive exclusively from the palace area (Area AA), as does the *Canaanite Jar*. The *Globular Jar*, *Spinning Bowl* and *Tall-necked Cup* come from the residential quarters (Areas CC and DD). Only the *Cup-and-saucers* were distributed throughout the excavated area, including two found in the temple area (Area BB). Most of the pottery on the ten plates devoted to Stratum VII was local LB IIB and Iron IA forms—lamps, jugs and juglets, storage jars, kraters, rounded and carinated bowls, chalices, flasks, etc. There were also some imported Mycenaean and Cypriot wares.

The LB II and Iron I tombs (Guy 1938) produced a similar assemblage of Egyptian pottery types: seventeen *Saucer Bowls*, fourteen *Cup-and-saucers*, three *Slender Ovoid Jars*, one *Handleless Storage Jar*, and one *Flower Pot*. Again the pottery was predominantly local with some Cypriot and Mycenaean imports.

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

The excavations at Megiddo unearthed a corpus of Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels comparable in number to that from Lachish, but differing in composition. Of the thirty-eight vessels, twelve were of bronze, eleven of alabaster, fifteen of ivory, and one of faience. In

addition to ten bronze *Bowls*, Megiddo produced the only *Saucer* and the only *Situla* in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. Similarly, the assemblage of alabaster vessels included not only common types like *Tazza* and *Handled Globular Jars*, but rare types such as *Round-bottomed Beakers*, *Tall-necked Cups*, and *Bag-shaped Jars*. Megiddo yielded the largest quantity of two types of ivory vessels: nine *Cosmetic Spoons* and six *Ledge-handled Bowls*. The majority of the Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels came not from tombs but from the palace, especially the vicinity of the Level VIIA treasury.

Egyptian-style Objects

Egyptian-style objects were found in four contexts at Megiddo—the Level VIIA temple, the Level VIIA palace treasury, tombs, and the residential quarter. *Pendants* and *Scarabs* were well distributed throughout the site. *Combs* came from the residential area, Tomb 39, and the treasury. *Spindles* occurred in both the tombs and the treasury.

Six Twelfth Dynasty grano-diorite *Statues* were incorporated into the architecture of the Level VIIA temple. How they arrived at the site and why they were used as building blocks remain mysteries.

The ivory *Duck Heads* and *Furniture Panels* were found in the palace treasury. The sphinx and banqueting scene can be described as local adaptations of Egyptian power iconography appropriate to a Levantine context.

Two *Scarabs* of Ramesses II came from Megiddo tombs. A *Stamp Seal* bearing the prenomen of Thutmose III was found in Tomb 39.

A *Hairpin* and a *Kohl Stick* derive from the residential area. The ivory hand, which could belong to a *Composite Statue* or a *Swimming-girl Cosmetic Spoon*, also came from Area CC. A *Scarab* of Ramesses III was among the *Scarabs* found there.

Tel Mor

The Site

Tel Mor (Tell Kheidar) is a small mound, measuring about six dunams in area. The site is a half mile inland from the sea on the north bank of the Nahal Lachish, four miles northwest of ancient Ashdod (M. Dothan 1975b).

Excavation and Publication

Although Tel Mor was excavated in 1959–1960 by Moshe Dothan 1959; 1960; 1972; 1973; 1981 , it has not yet been fully published. The preliminary publications describe the pottery in only the most general terms.[10]

Egyptian-style Architecture

The Strata VIII–VII (LB IIB) "citadel" is similar in plan to a Middle Kingdom building in the fort at Uronarti and can be classified as an Egyptian-style *Administrative Building*. The *migdol* built over it in the next stratum bears no particularly Egyptian features.

no fort?

Egyptian-style Pottery

Quantities of Egyptian-style pottery, *Beerbottles* and *Saucer Bowls*, were found in Strata VIII–VII of LB IIB and Strata VI–V of Iron IA. Stratum IV is the earliest Philistine level. Local pottery predominates in all of these strata. Mycenaean and Cypriot imports occur in the LB IIB levels and imitation Cypriot pottery in Iron IA M. Dothan 1975b: 889–90,.

Tell es-Safi

The Site

Tell es-Safi lies on the south bank of the Wadi Elah where it enters the Shephelah. Tell es-Safi is a prominent candidate for the site of ancient Gath Stern 1975).

Excavation and Publication

Bliss and Macalister 1902) excavated Tel es-Safi at the end of the last century. Consequently, the stratigraphical and ceramic analyses

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are rather primitive. The pottery finds are grouped into four periods, covering the entire pre-modern occupation of the site. "Late pre-Israelite" includes LB IIB and Iron I, as well as earlier and later periods.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Bliss and Macalister 1902: 98 report that the "Late pre-Israelite" pottery corpus from Tell es-Safi includes fragments of *Cup-and-saucers*. The rest of the published drawings represent local LB-Iron Age vessels along with imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares.

Tell es-Saʿidiyeh

The Site

Tell es-Saʿidiyeh is a large mound 1.8 km east of the Jordan River, about midway between Tiberias and the Dead Sea Pritchard 1975 . Suggestions for the ancient name of the site include Zaphon (Albright 1926: 45–47 and Zarethan Glueck 1943: 6–10 .

Excavation and Publication

Forty-five tombs dating to LB IIB and Iron IA were excavated by James Pritchard 1980 in 1964–1965 on behalf of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and are fully published.

Renewed excavations at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh began in 1985 and still continue. This expedition, led by Jonathan Tubb of the British Museum, has excavated additional tombs from the LB IIB-Iron IA period, as well as an occupational stratum XII) which has been dated to Iron IA. Preliminary reports have appeared in *Levant* Tubb 1985; 1986; 1988; 1990; Tubb and Dorrell 1991 .[11]

Egyptian-style Architecture

It has been suggested that a building in Stratum XII in area AA is a *Center Hall House*. Evaluation of that claim must await publication of detailed plans of the structure.

Egyptian-style Pottery

The most common types of Egyptian-style vessels at Sa'idiyeh are the *Handleless Storage Jar* and the *Saucer Bowl*. Fifty-sixty *Storage Jars* were found in one room of the Stratum XII palace. *Saucer Bowls*, on the other hand, were characteristic of the LB IIB and Iron IA tombs. One *Beerbottle*, seven *Funnel-necked Jars*, one *Globular Jar*, one *Tall-necked Cup*, and three *Handleless Pyxides* were also uncovered in the tombs.

The tomb pottery also included many imported and imitation Mycenaean vessels and a few imported Cypriot wares. Local pottery types consisted of rounded bowls, juglets and jugs, pilgrim flasks, lamps, and storage jars. Stratum XII produced a large quantity of cooking pots which vary widely in shape, as well as jugs and bowls (Tubb 1990: fig. 14). The large number of variants in cooking pot shapes has led some scholars to challenge the attribution of this stratum to Iron IA and to suggest a date as much as one hundred years later (A. Mazar, personal communication; Negbi 1991: 214, n. 9).

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

The tombs at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh contained a number of Egyptian-style vessels of bronze, alabaster, and ivory. The bronze vessels belonged to three wine sets, the largest number from any site in Palestine. The alabaster vessels consisted of three *Tazze*, two *Ledge-handled Bowls*, and a *Long-necked Globular Jar*. In ivory, there were three vessels: a *Swimming-girl Spoon*, a *Fish Spoon*, and a *Lidded Bowl*. No vessels of glass or faience were found.

Egyptian-style Objects

The tombs at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh produced a *Mirror*, a gold *Ring*, and three *Combs*. A *Bulla* was found in the palace area.

Tel Sera'

The Site

Tel Sera' Tell esh-Sheri'a is located in the northwestern Negev on the north bank of the Wadi Gerar, about twelve miles northwest of the modern city of Beersheva. The horseshoe-shaped mound covers an area of approximately sixteen dunams. An identification with Biblical Ziklag has been suggested (Oren 1975).

Excavation and Publication

Tel Sera' was excavated by Eliezer Oren (1978; 1980; 1982; 1984b) of Ben Gurion University of the Negev from 1972 until 1978. To date only preliminary reports of these excavations have appeared.[12] Strata X and IX are dated to LB IIB and Iron IA, respectively.

Egyptian-style Architecture

Building 2502 of Stratum X and Building 906, which was built over top of it in Stratum IX, are *Center Hall Houses with Square Main Room*. The plans of the two buildings were quite similar; both deviate from the Egyptian prototype in the placement of the entrance, the relative size of the main room, and the number of columns in the main room. The foundations of Building 906 were constructed, in Egyptian fashion, of bricks laid in a trench lined with sand and *kurkar*, whereas the earlier Building 2502 had stone foundations.

Egyptian-style Pottery

Saucer Bowls and *Cup-and-saucers* were the most common Egyptian pottery type in both Stratum X and IX. In addition, there were two *Beerbottles*, one *Slender Ovoid Jar*, one *Funnel-necked Jar*, seven *Globular Jars*, three *Tall-necked Cups*, one *Handleless Pyxis*, and one *Spinning Bowl*.

Stratum X contained imported Mycenaean and Cypriot wares, which were lacking in Stratum IX. Local LB IIB-Iron IA pottery types include rounded bowls, kraters, cooking pots, storage jars, jugs, and flasks. Philistine wares first appear in Stratum VIII (Iron IB).

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

The excavations at Tel Sera' produced only a minimal number of Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels: an alabaster *Tazza*, an alabaster *Tall-necked Cup*, and a faience *Pilgrim Flask*.

Egyptian-style Objects

Only a few of the objects published to date from the excavations at Tel Sera' can be classified as Egyptian-style —*Scarabs*, *Pendants*, and a glass *Scepter*. One of the *Scarabs* bears the prenomen of Ramesses II.

Timna'

The Site

The Timna' Valley is about 18.5 miles north of the Gulf of Aqaba and forms part of the Arabah system. The cliffs which enclose it were rich in copper ore (Rothenberg 1975). It was the site of Egyptian mining activities from at least the time of Seti I through the reign of Ramesses V (Rothenberg 1988: 276–277).

Excavation and Publication

Exploration of the Timna' Valley under the direction of B. Rothenberg proceeded in four phases: the 'Arabah Survey in 1959–1961; the 'Arabah Expedition in 1964–1970; the New Timna Project in 1974–1976; and the New 'Arabah Project in 1978–1983. A number of sites in the Timna' Valley were excavated including three Ramesside period sites: 2, 30, and 200. The research in all its phases focused primarily on the history of copper technology in antiquity.

The final reports on the excavations in the Wadi Timna' are in the process of being published in *Researches in the Arabah 1959–1984*. Volumes 1 and 2, *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna* (Rothenberg 1988) and *The Ancient Extractive Metallurgy of Copper* (Rothenberg 1990),

respectively, have already appeared. The excavations of the Ramesside copper mining and smelting sites (Sites 2 and 30), scheduled for publication in Volume 4, are currently available only in preliminary reports (Rothenberg 1972; 1975). While one must reject Rothenberg's rather facile assignment of pottery types to ethnic groups, such as the Midianites and the Amalekites, the final report on the *Hathor Temple* (Site 200) provides ready access to the excavated data.

Egyptian-style Architecture

The *Hathor Temple* at Timna' was constructed during the reign of Seti I and rebuilt during the reign of Ramesses II. It continued in use through the reign of Ramesses V. The *Hathor Temple* is thoroughly Egyptian. Not only was the Egyptian goddess Hathor worshiped there; the building has been identified as an Egyptian *k3ri* shrine, using Egyptian architectural elements such as a cavetto cornice with torus molding (Schulman 1988: 114–115).

Egyptian-style Pottery

Timna' is the only Palestinian site other than Deir el-Balah to produce significant quantities of chemically-identified Egyptian pottery imports (Rothenberg 1988: 96–100). No complete imported Egyptian vessels were found at Site 200, the *Hathor Temple*. The Egyptian sherds from that site were tentatively identified as a jug, a *Saucer Bowl* (straight-sided), two kraters, a *Handleless Storage Jar*, a juglet, and the base of a jar or krater. There were also four painted body sherds, two painted juglet handles, and a painted bowl base of nilotic ware (95 and figs. 20:9-12, 21:1-10). Locally made Egyptian-style pottery was also uncovered in the temple, including a juglet and a krater (96 and figs. 19:7 and 17:5). Decorated Egyptian-style pottery from the temple included a *Globular Jar* and three sherds from vessels of unidentifiable shape (95 and fig. 21:11-14).

The pottery finds from the temple can be quantified as 25% Hejaz ware,[13] 10% local hand-made vessels, and 65% "Normal" (or non-Hejaz ware) wheel-made pottery, including Egyptian and Egyptian-style vessels (Rothenberg 1988: 92). A breakdown of the "Normal"

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[13] The term "Hejaz ware" is equivalent to Rothenberg's term "Midianite ware," but without any ethnic implications.

pottery into percentages of local, Egyptian, and Egyptian-style vessels is not given.

Apparently Egyptian pottery was also found at Site 2, a copper smelting camp of LB IIB-Iron IA date. In the preliminary report (Rothenberg 1972), it is subsumed under the category "Normal" pottery and is not illustrated. In a brief discussion in volume 1 of the final report, Rothenberg alludes to its presence. "The Egyptian origin of most of this pottery was neither recognised nor even suspected by us at the time" (Rothenberg 1988: 7). An analysis of the ceramic finds from Site 2 must await the final publication.

Egyptian-style Non-ceramic Vessels

The Hathor temple that served the mining operations at Timna‘ yielded the largest assemblage of faience and glass vessels of any site in Palestine. The forty-six faience vessels were distributed among eight types. There were twenty-eight *Rounded Bowls*, five *Jugs*, four *Juglets*, three *Cups*, two *Globular Jars*, two *Ovoid Jars*, a *Hathor-head Bowl*, and a *Lotiform Chalice*. In addition, two faience sherds bearing cartouches in black ink were found. One sherd was inscribed with the names of Merneptah (Rothenberg 1988: 128, fig. 28:3, pl. 120:1). The other is quite fragmentary; it probably read Amenmesse, although a reading of Ramesses II is not precluded (Rothenberg 1988: 128, fig. 40:6, pl. 122:12). Five types of glass vessels were represented, including ten *Krateriskoi*, five *Amphoriskoi*, three *Pilgrim Flasks*, two *Deep Bowls*, and a *Pomegranate Vessel*. The only other Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessel was an alabaster *Handled Globular Jar*.

Egyptian-style Objects

Site 200 at Timna‘ contained so many objects related to the worship of the Egyptian goddess Hathor that hers was doubtless the primary cult celebrated there. There were seventeen *Menat Counterpoises*, nine *Sistra*, five *Wands*, eleven faience *Cat* figurines, and nineteen inscribed and twenty-six undecorated *Bangle Bracelets*. The best parallel for this assemblage is the corpus of finds from the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinai.

Faience was clearly the material of choice at Timna‘. Not only were the Hathor-related objects all of faience, but other objects were made of the same material also. They include *Pendants*, *Scarabs*, *Jar Stands*, and an *Ushabti*.

Other materials were represented in smaller quantities. Stone was used for the three *Sphinxes*, the female *Statuette*, and the three *Statue Bases*. Some of the *Scarabs* were carved from steatite. Two objects were made of gold — the *Headband* and a fly *Pendant*.

The names of Ramesside kings appear on many of the objects. Seti I, Merneptah, Tawosret, Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI, and possibly Ramesses II are attested on *Bracelets*. Ramesses II, Seti II, and Ramesses IV can be found on *Menat Counterpoises*. Of the *Jar Stands*, one clearly reads Ramesses III and another either Ramesses II or IV. There is a *Scarab* of Ramesses III and a *Pendant* of Seti I or II. Thus of the twelve rulers from Seti I to Ramesses VI, eight are named on objects at Timna‘.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

In every category of material culture — pottery, non-ceramic vessels, objects, and architecture — the data correspond more closely to the expectations for the *Elite Emulation* model than the *Direct Rule* model. The correlation is not perfect; some details fit the *Direct Rule* model better. Nevertheless, the cumulative evidence supports the hypothesis that *Elite Emulation* was a major factor in the social history of Ramesside Palestine.

The *Elite Emulation* model predicted that the corpus of Egyptian-style material would have the following characteristics: 1) be limited in the range of types found, 2) include Egyptianizing types, 3) be found always in association with local types, 4) be found primarily in prestige contexts, 5) consist primarily of prestige, rather than domestic, artifacts, and 6) diminish in concentration as distance from Egypt increases. The first five characteristics clearly obtain. The evidence regarding the sixth is mixed.

The corpus of Egyptian-style remains from Palestine represents only a fraction of the material culture of Ramesside Egypt.

The dearth of comprehensive studies of New Kingdom artifact classes makes it difficult to quantify the Egyptian corpus. Nevertheless, it is clear that for every category —pottery, non-ceramic vessels, objects, and architecture—the Egyptian corpus contains many types not found in Palestine. For instance, the Palestinian pottery corpus includes less than half the types found in Sudanese Nubia (Holthoer 1977), which in turn lacks types found at Deir el-Medineh (Nagel

1938). There are no Egyptian-style cooking pots, bottles, or flasks in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine, to name just a few of the types that might be expected. Although numbers are not available for other classes of artifacts, a comparison with the published catalogues of the Cairo and Louvre museums Bénédite 1911; von Bissing 1904; 1907; Hickmann 1949; Vandier d'Abbadie 1972) leaves no doubt about the restricted range of the Palestinian assemblage. Furthermore, no Egyptian-style processional temple has been excavated at the site of an LB IIB-Iron IA Palestinian city, in marked contrast to the profusion of such structures in Egypt and Nubia.

Some of the artifacts demonstrate an integration of local and Egyptian elements that identifies them as Egyptianizing.

The ivory *Furniture Panels* from Megiddo, the *Statues* from Hazor, the *Stelae* from Balu'a and Shihan, and the *Anthropoid Sarcophagus* from Lachish—which bears a crude hieroglyphic inscription—have all been identified as examples of Egyptianizing objects. The incorporation of Egyptian architectural elements into otherwise Palestinian buildings and the modification of the Amarna House layout represent Egyptianization in the field of architecture. In addition, it has been suggested that Palestinian potters adopted Egyptian methods of pottery manufacture, including the use of string-cut bases and straw temper, for the production of local ceramic types.

Egyptian-style material culture remains always occurred in association with artifacts of local types. Even at Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah, and Timna', the sites with the highest proportion of Egyptian-style artifacts, the assemblages were not purely Egyptian-style.

There is no settlement or quarter within a settlement which produced only Egyptian-style pottery. The ceramic assemblages of sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine tend to be a mix of local and foreign-style pottery, a pattern observed at every site discussed above. It is difficult to determine a precise ratio of local to imported/imitation vessels at most sites, but at Beth Shan James and McGovern 1993: 238' estimate that 75% of the pottery from Levels VII and VIII is of local types. Even at Deir el-Balah, where Egyptian-style pottery predominates, local LB types form a significant component of the assemblage. In LB IIB, the mix at Palestinian sites includes local pottery, imitation and imported wares of Mycenaean and Cypriot types, and Egyptian-style vessels. In Iron IA, imported Mycenaean and Cypriot

wares are rare; the assemblages comprise imitation Mycenaean and Cypriot vessels, Egyptian-style pottery, and local types.

Objects of Syrian, Hittite, Mycenaean, and Cypriote derivation were found side-by-side with Egyptian-style objects. An *Anthropoid Sarcophagus* in the Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan held both an *Ushabti* and Mycenaean-style figurines. Syrian-style ivories lay intermingled with Egyptian-style ivories in the Megiddo treasury. A Hittite bulla was found in the "residency" at Aphek that yielded an inscribed faience *Ring*, a *Harness Ring*, and a duck-headed *Hairpin*. The association in which these objects were found points to the cosmopolitan character of the LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine assemblages.

With the exception of *Scarabs* and *Pendants*, which were ubiquitous, Egyptian-style objects occurred in small numbers at scattered sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. The majority of the object types were attested at fewer than four sites. Twenty types were represented by a single example. Other than *Scarabs* and *Pendants*, only ten types were found at four or more sites. Plaques of *Females with Hathor Curls*, *Anthropoid Sarcophagi*, *Bullae*, *Impressed Jars*, *Mirrors*, and *Statues* were found at exactly four sites. *Kohl Sticks*, *Combs*, *Rings*, and *Stamp Seals* occurred at between five and nine sites.

With the exception of Beth Shan, which is characterized by the presence of multiple Egyptian-style buildings throughout the period, no site has produced more than one Egyptian-style structure per stratum. To be sure, at some sites, e.g. Aphek and Deir el-Balah, the Egyptian-style building is the only excavated structure from a given stratum. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that a wider exposure would have produced more Egyptian-style architecture.

In general, the distribution of Egyptian-style architecture in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine stands in marked contrast to the pattern observable in New Kingdom Nubia. The Nubian landscape was dotted with pharaonic settlements that were almost exact copies of Egyptian towns further north. Both the layout of the settlements and the architecture of the individual buildings—temples, storehouses, and residences—were characteristically Egyptian Kemp 1972: 651 654).

The vast majority of the Egyptian-style artifacts were found in funerary and ritual contexts.

At Beth Shan, Egyptian-style vessels, with the exception of *Spinning Bowls*, come mostly from temple and tomb contexts At Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, large numbers of storage jars fifty-sixty were discovered

in the palace; the other Egyptian-style vessels—*Saucer Bowls*, *Beerbottles*, etc.—derive from the tombs. At Megiddo, only *Cup-and-saucers* are widely distributed. *Saucer Bowls* and *Handleless Storage Jars* were found in the palace and in the tombs, a *Globular Jar* and *Spinning Bowls* in the residential areas, and *Ovoid Jars* and one *Flower Pot* in a tomb. Almost all of the Egyptian-style pottery from Lachish came from the temple area, the potter's workshop, or the tombs. In addition to the sites mentioned above, Egyptian-style pottery was found in tomb contexts at Tell el-ʿAjjul, Beth Shemesh, Deir el-Balaḥ, Tell el-Farʿa (S), and Gezer. It was found in temple contexts at Deir ʿAlla, Tel Seraʿ, and Timnaʿ.

A bias toward temple and tomb contexts certainly exists in the database. In some cases, a deliberate decision was made to excavate public and/or funerary contexts rather than residential areas. At other sites, only complete or restorable vessels, more common in tombs than in other contexts, were collected and published. Nevertheless, the pattern of distribution of Egyptian-style pottery is clearly distinct from that of local types. LB cave burials in Palestine generally contained a full range of the domestic pottery assemblage found in the residences of the sites with which they were associated (Gonen 1992: 14). Although a more restricted set of vessels was placed in LB pit burials—storage jars, bowls, dipper juglets, and small containers, they were all of types commonly found in residences of the period (Gonen 1992: 19). The primary difference in distribution between residential and funerary contexts is that imported vessels were significantly more prevalent in pit burials, accounting for up to 55% of the ceramic finds (Gonen 1992: 19–20).

The *Spinning Bowl*, which represents the primary exception to the pattern of the distribution of Egyptian-style pottery, should probably be interpreted as an instance of the transfer of technology. The extreme rarity of the *Spinning Bowl* in the Nubian ceramic assemblage suggests that it was not an indispensable piece of equipment for an imperial pharaonic settlement and need not be associated, positively or negatively, with the presence of resident Egyptians. The superiority of the Egyptian technique, learned through extensive cultural contact during the Late Bronze Age, was recognized by the inhabitants of Palestine, who adopted the technology for local domestic use. Whether the *Spinning Bowl* was first brought to Palestine by an Egyptian or was introduced to Palestine by a local who had traveled to Egypt cannot be determined.

[handwritten margin note: adoption of tech.]

The different material categories of non-ceramic vessels exhibit markedly different patterns of distribution, although ritual and funerary contexts predominate. Bronze vessels were found primarily in tombs, glass and faience vessels in temples, and ivory vessels in both tombs and temples. Only the alabaster vessels were widely distributed across cultic, funerary, and occupational contexts.

This observation must be tempered by the awareness that the distribution patterns may be affected by biases in the processes of deposition and preservation. For instance, the absence of bronze vessels in occupational strata may be due to a practice of recasting bronze rather than discarding it. All of these materials decay at varying rates, depending upon environmental conditions. Ivory and bronze are particularly susceptible to moisture and break down rapidly under "ideal" conditions.

Context is a stronger predictor than geography of the presence of Egyptian-style non-ceramic vessels of a particular material category. Glass and faience vessels were found in largest numbers at sites where temples were excavated, namely Beth Shan, Lachish, and Timnaʿ. Similarly, bronze vessels tend to come from sites with excavated tombs, such as Deir el-Balaḥ, Dothan, Tell el-Farʿa (S), Megiddo, and Tell es-Saʿidiyeh.

Temples and tombs produced Egyptian-style objects in greater quantity and variety than any other contexts, a fact which does not simply reflect the larger number of objects excavated in temples and tombs. The Egyptian-style objects formed a higher percentage of the finds in those contexts than in other contexts.

Few of the Egyptian-style artifacts are arguably domestic in nature.

The *Spinning Bowl* represents one of the exceptions. *Spinning Bowls* were found in residential areas, where they were undoubtedly used in household textile manufacture. Their presence in the ceramic corpus is not, however, evidence for the *Direct Rule* model. The *Spinning Bowl* was an advance in manufacturing technology that allowed greater quantities of yarn to be spun in less time. No comparable technology existed in Palestine prior to its introduction. Therefore, the *Spinning Bowl* was not simply another utilitarian vessel, like a cooking pot or a juglet, that could be distinguished on the basis of stylistic features. It appeared in the Palestinian ceramic corpus with the introduction of new textile technology and traveled with that technology.

Although there were no pure Egyptian contexts, the pattern of distribution was uneven.

The sites which attest Egyptian-style pottery cluster in three regions which share the characteristic of easy accessibility due to their location on or near major roadways: southwestern Palestine, including the Coastal Plain as far north as the Yarkon, the Shephelah and the western Negev; the Jezreel Valley; and the Great Rift Valley, stretching from the Huleh Basin along the Jordan River and the Arabah to the Gulf of Aqaba. Like Megiddo and Hazor further north, the sites in southwestern Palestine lie on or near the *Via Maris* or "Ways of Horus"—the most important highway of Palestine in antiquity. Armies, trade caravans, artisans, and envoys passed along this route, putting the region in almost continuous contact with a wider cultural world, especially that of Egypt. A secondary road ran along the east bank of the Jordan, linking Deir 'Alla and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh with Megiddo by way of Beth Shan and the Jezreel Valley.

The concentration of sites and pottery types within these clusters suggests a three-tier hierarchy of sites. Beth Shan stands out as the only fully-published site with more than nine types/subtypes of Egyptian-style pottery attested; twelve types/subtypes were recorded there. When the publication of Deir el-Balah is complete, the number of attested types/subtypes will probably be comparable. A second tier comprises those sites with between six and nine types. Of these, Lachish, Tell el-'Ajjul, Tel Sera', Tell el-Far'a S, and Haruvit are concentrated in the area around Deir el-Balah. The other two, Megiddo and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, are located near Beth Shan. The remaining sites, those having fewer than five types, mostly lie at a greater distance from the two centers. For southwestern Palestine, the Gerar Valley seems to form a boundary, north of which the concentrations diminish.

All of the sites with Egyptian-style architecture were located on or near the major highways of antiquity, especially the *Via Maris*. No such buildings have been found in the hill country or in other remote areas.

With the exception of Beth Shan and possibly Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, all of the *Center Hall Houses* were located in southern Palestine. During LB IIB-Iron IA, four *Center Hall Houses* were clustered in the area between Tell el-Hesi and Tell el-Far'a (S). This pattern correlates with the expectation of the *Elite Emulation* model that the concentration of Egyptian-style material would decrease with distance from

the Nile Valley. Under that model, more Egyptian-style architecture would be predicted in southern Palestine than in areas further north. It should be noted that nothing in the distribution of other artifacts at these sites—see above—requires us to interpret them as the residences of pharaonic officials.

The *Administrative Buildings*, again with the exception of Beth Shan, were all located on the *Via Maris*. They were placed at logical collection points for either taxes or trade goods. From Aphek, goods could have been transferred to the nearby port of Jaffa for shipment or transported overland along the *Via Maris*. The sites of Tel Mor and Deir el-Balah also offered the dual options of land or sea transport.

The *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies* at Lachish, like the *Center Hall Houses*, fits the pattern of Egyptian-style architecture clustered in the southern Levant. The *Temple* is the only Egyptian-style building excavated at that site. It cannot be taken as evidence for the presence of an Egyptian cult, since there is no sign that Egyptian deities were worshiped there. The use of Egyptianizing architectural elements, such as octagonal columns, may represent no more than an attempt to honor the local gods with the most exotic and sophisticated items available, much like the offering of Egyptian-style votive objects in the Fosse Temple. The identity of the worshippers cannot be determined from the architecture.

Three sites had a markedly high concentration of Egyptian-style artifacts—Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah, and Timna'.

Not only are Beth Shan and Deir el-Balah the sites yielding the most types of pottery, but the cemeteries at Beth Shan and Deir el-Balah are distinguished by the large number of *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* they produced. These burials were accompanied by a high percentage of Egyptian-style objects, including *Ushabtis*, although objects and vessels of non-Egyptian types were included as well.

From the architectural evidence alone, Beth Shan must be seen as a special, perhaps even unique case. The multiple *Center Hall Houses*, *Three Room Houses*, *Temples with Raised Holy-of-Holies*, and *Administrative Building* represent the presence of an Egyptian installation at the site. The identification of that installation as a garrison is made possible by the inscriptional evidence, especially from Building 1500. Significantly, inscribed architectural fragments like those from Building 1500 have not been found in association with *Center Hall Houses* at other sites.

Beth Shan is also set apart by the quantity and variety of its

Egyptian-style objects. In addition to the small objects that occurred elsewhere, Beth Shan yielded royal monuments that are unparalleled in Palestine. The *Stelae* of Seti I and Ramesses II and the *Statue* of Ramesses III point to a higher degree of pharaonic activity than is attested at other sites. Other objects unique to the site include a *Trapezoidal Razor*, a *Forked Spear Butt*, a Hathor-headed *Clapper*, an *Aegis Head*, a *Hawk* figurine, and *Model Bread Offerings*.

Timna‘ with its purely Egyptian-style *Hathor Temple* is also a special case. It was the site of a pharaonic mining installation. While local personnel appear to have been employed in the mining and smelting operations, the installation was established and run by Egyptians on a site not previously inhabited. In this respect, Timna‘ was more akin to New Kingdom Nubian sites than to other Palestinian sites.

The Timna‘ assemblage is paralleled only at Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinai. A variety of objects related to the worship of Hathor were attested at only two sites outside of the Nile Valley, namely the Hathor temples at Timna‘ and Serabit el-Khadem. Both temples were established to serve mining expeditions sent out from Egypt. The similarity of the two assemblages suggests that they are probably representative of the Hathor cult, at least as it was practiced beyond the borders of Egypt.

Although the distribution of non-ceramic vessels was relatively even for sites at which similar contexts had been excavated, Timna‘ was still exceptional for the large number of glass and faience vessels that it produced. More Egyptian-style pottery types were attested at Beth Shan and Deir el-Balaḥ than at any other site, and the excavations at Beth Shan and Timna‘ yielded the greatest quantities of Egyptian-style objects. With regard to architecture, Beth Shan's concentration of Egyptian-style buildings is unique in Palestine. In this one respect, then, the data correspond to the expectations of the *Direct Rule* model rather than the *Elite Emulation* model.

The review of the six expectations of the *Elite Emulation* model suggests a complex situation combining elements of both models. The high concentration of Egyptian-style material at Beth Shan, Deir el-Balaḥ, and Timna‘ correlates with the expectations of the *Direct Rule* model. In all other respects the data correspond more with the expectations of the *Elite Emulation* model. These findings suggest that *Elite Emulation* was a significant factor in LB IIB–Iron IA Palestine, whereas *Direct Rule* played a more secondary role.

CONCLUSION

EVALUATION OF THE TWO MODELS

Both the textual and the archaeological evidence fail to provide a perfect correlation with the expectations for either the *Direct Rule* or the *Elite Emulation* model. In fact, the pattern which emerges from the data suggests that each model applies partially.

no one definition for Empire

Evidence Supporting the Direct Rule *Model*

At the outset of this study, it was suggested that if the *Direct Rule* model were correct, there would be a chain of Egyptian forts and/or settlements in Palestine featuring a material culture almost indistinguishable from that of the Nile Valley. Three specific expectations were proposed: 1) The architecture would be thoroughly Egyptian in both plan and construction techniques; 2) The corpus of artifacts from the sites would closely resemble that of similar settlements in Egypt, including both domestic and prestige goods, and the contexts in which the artifacts are found should include residences as well as temples and tombs; and 3) There would be some purely Egyptian contexts, either entire sites or quarters within sites.

The evidence correlating with expectations for the *Direct Rule* model centers on the five sites where the presence of an Egyptian imperial installation can be demonstrated: Beth Shan, Deir el-Balaḥ, Gaza, Jaffa, and Timna‘. The three of these sites from which published archaeological remains are available—Beth Shan, Deir el-Balaḥ, and Timna‘—demonstrate a markedly high concentration of Egyptian-style artifacts. The latter two could probably be accommodated within the *Elite Emulation* model due to their proximity to the Egyptian border, but the location of Beth Shan in northern Palestine is clear evidence for the *Direct Rule* model.

Beth Shan

The Egyptian garrison post at Beth Shan is the best attested of the imperial centers. The garrison-host is referred to in an Amarna letter EA 289, although the archaeological data suggest that the Ramesside period was the primary period of Egyptian occupation.

Beth Shan is unique among excavated sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. Of the sites that produced a high concentration of Egyptian-style artifacts, it is the only one located on the site of an existing local settlement.

Levels VIII through VI contained numerous buildings of Egyptian style. In Levels VIII/VII, there was a residential quarter composed of *Center Hall* and *Three Room Houses*. In Level VI, the lintels and door jambs of one of the *Center Hall Houses* were inscribed with the name and titles of Ramesses-user-khepesh, apparently the highest ranking Egyptian official resident at the site during the reign of Ramesses III.

Large quantities of Egyptian-style artifacts were found at Beth Shan, especially in the tombs and temples. Eleven tombs in the northern cemetery contained a total of fifty *Anthropoid Sarcophagi*, the highest number recorded from a site in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. The tombs also yielded eight clay *Ushabtis*, a bronze wine set, and an ivory *Swimming-girl Spoon*. Likewise, the temples produced Egyptian-style pottery, glass and faience vessels, and objects, including an *Aegis Head*, a Hathor-headed *Clapper*, a *Hawk* figurine, and two *Model Bread Offerings*. The only site with a comparable ceramic assemblage was Deir el-Balah.

The pharaonic monuments from Beth Shan are unparalleled in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine suggesting a uniquely high degree of pharaonic activity at the site. Although they were found in secondary context, there is no reason to suspect that the objects did not originate at Beth Shan. The *Stelae* of Seti I refer to events that transpired in and around Beth Shan, and the *Statue* of Ramesses III is too large to be easily transported over any great distance.

Nevertheless, Beth Shan cannot be characterized as a purely Egyptian context. Despite the clear architectural and inscriptional evidence for an Egyptian quarter within the site, the artifacts are predominantly of local style. Not even within the Egyptian quarter was Egyptian-style pottery more common than local types.

Deir el-Balah

Located on the Mediterranean coast about fourteen km southwest of Gaza, Deir el-Balah marked the end of the land route across northern Sinai that linked Egypt with the Levant. The finds from the site are not inconsistent with the hypothesis of the excavator that it housed an Egyptian garrison-host during the Nineteenth Dynasty. At the very least, Deir el-Balah was the last of the waystations established by the Egyptians to serve the traffic along the Sinai route.

Despite the limited exposure that could be achieved, Deir el-Balah produced one of the highest concentrations of Egyptian-style artifacts in the region. It is the only site in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine at which Egyptian-style pottery was more common than local types. The forty *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* recovered from the cemetery rival the assemblage from Beth Shan.

Gaza

Although no archaeological data are available for Gaza, references to the city from the Amarna period onward EA 289, 296; TT 6 suggest that Gaza served as some sort of base of operations for Egyptian interests in the southern Levant. Unfortunately, none of the texts specifies the functions involved.

The temple that Ramesses III built for Amun in Palestine may have been located at Gaza. It is unclear whether the toponym *PaCanaan* given as the location of the temple refers specifically to Gaza or more generally to southern Palestine.

Jaffa

There is evidence to suggest the existence of a pharaonic granary at Jaffa during the reign of Ramesses II. Among the few published remains from Jaffa are fragments of a monumental gateway bearing the names of Ramesses II. Although too small to belong to the city gate, they could have stood at the entrance to an administrative complex within the city. The suggestion that the complex might have been a granary derives from a gloss in Amarna letter EA 294, which attests to the presence of a pharaonic granary at Jaffa in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Timna͑

Although Timna͑ falls within the modern geographical definition of
Palestine, in the Ramesside period it lay beyond the bounds of the
Palestinian city-state system. The site offered no evidence of per-
manent occupation but was inhabited on a temporary basis by the
mining expeditions that came from Egypt to extract copper ore from
the surrounding cliffs.

The Hathor temple and its contents are paralleled only at Serabit
el-Khadem, the New Kingdom turquoise mining site in the Sinai.
Both sites produced quantities of objects related to the worship of
Hathor that are otherwise unknown outside of the Nile Valley, includ-
ing *Menat Counterpoises*, *Sistra*, inscribed *Bracelets*, and *Cat* figurines.
The similarity of the two assemblages suggests that they are proba-
bly representative of the Hathor cult, at least as it was practiced
beyond the borders of Egypt.

Timna͑ is also exceptional for the large number of glass and faience
vessels found there. Of the thirty-four glass vessels from LB IIB-Iron
IA Palestine, twenty-one came from Timna͑. Of the sixty-eight faience
vessels, Timna͑ produced forty-five. That represents almost twice as
many glass and faience vessels as were found at all the other sites
combined. In addition, two glass and three faience vessel types were
attested only at Timna͑.

Evidence Supporting the Elite Emulation *Model*

The research proposal also suggested that, if the *Elite Emulation* model
is correct, Egyptian culture would not be adopted *in toto*, but cer-
tain elements would be selected and adapted to the local context.
Six specific expectations were proposed: 1) The corpus of Egyptian-
style artifacts from Palestine would be much more restricted in its
variety than that found in the Nile Valley; 2) The attested types
would be primarily prestige goods rather than domestic artifacts; 3)
The corpus would include Egyptianizing, as well as Egyptian-style,
artifacts; 4) No Egyptian settlements or pure Egyptian contexts would
be found in Palestine; 5) Egyptian-style material would appear pri-
marily in funerary and ritual contexts; 6) The relative quantity of
Egyptian-style artifacts would decline gradually as the distance from
Egypt increased.

The data clearly meet four of the six criteria for the *Elite Emulation*
model. Only a limited number of Egyptian-style architectural, ceramic
and artifactual types are attested in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. With
the exception of *Spinning Bowls* and *Handleless Storage Jars*, the attested
types can be characterized as prestige goods rather than domestic ar-
tifacts. Their treatment as prestige goods is reflected in the fact that
they are found primarily in temples and tombs. Several Egyptian-
izing types have also been identified, including the Megiddo ivories
and most of the architecture. Although the pattern is not precisely
as expected, the cluster of sites in southern Palestine with concen-
trations of Egyptian-style remains is consistent with the last criterion:
a decline in the quantity of Egyptian-style artifacts as the distance
from Egypt increases.

The exceptions are represented by the five sites with pharaonic
installations. Their existence conflicts, at least in part, with the fourth
expectation; they are Egyptian settlements within Palestine. On the
other hand, none of them is a pure Egyptian context. In LB IIB-
Iron IA Palestine Egyptian-style artifacts always occur in association
with artifacts of local type.

As suggested above, Deir el-Balaḥ and Timna͑ are compatible with
the last expectation. Although clearly beyond the political borders
of Egypt, they are located in the "no man's land" on the fringes of
Palestine, where the highest concentrations of Egyptian-style material
would be expected. Gaza, as the Palestinian border town at the end
of the "Ways of Horus," would also be expected to exhibit a rela-
tively high quantity of such material.

Insufficient evidence exists, at present, to support the existence of
pharaonic installations at other sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine.
Neither the archaeological nor the textual data indicate a perma-
nent Egyptian presence at Aphek, Lachish, or Megiddo, despite sug-
gestions to the contrary. In fact Lachish and Megiddo are prime
examples of the *Elite Emulation* model.

Aphek

The structure at Aphek that has been likened to an Amarna House
does not contain the constitutive elements of a *Center Hall House*. It is
of a type, the *Administrative Building*, that may have Egyptian antecedents
in the granaries known from the Middle Kingdom. The layout and
finds from the building suggest that it was used as a storehouse.

There is no reason to suppose that a governor or other Egyptian official resided at Aphek, since the finds from the *Administrative Building* are cosmopolitan. In addition to local and Egyptian-style artifacts, there were Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery and a Hittite bulla. The cuneiform letter addressed to the Egyptian Haya does not specify his location and may well have reached him while he was passing through Aphek along the *Via Maris*.

Lachish

The finds from Lachish are entirely consistent with the *Elite Emulation* model. Although the temples and tombs produced significant quantities of Egyptian-style artifacts, few were found in the occupational strata. The *Anthropoid Sarcophagus* with the crude hieroglyphic inscription, in particular, points to the Egyptianization of the elite class.

The artifacts that have been used to suggest the presence of Egyptian military or administrative officials are insufficient to corroborate that hypothesis. The scrap of metal bearing the name of Ramesses III is useful only for dating purposes, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of Level VI, since it belonged to a cache of broken bronze artifacts apparently intended for recasting. The hieratic inscriptions indicate the presence of an Egyptian scribe but do not establish the identity of his employer or the length of his stay at Lachish. There is growing evidence that hieratic was used for administrative, as opposed to diplomatic, purposes in southern Palestine. That practice does not prove, however, that an Egyptian administrator resided in every town in the region. The inscriptions may have been penned by scribes accompanying circuit officials on their rounds or employed by vassal princes.

Megiddo

Megiddo represents another example of a vassal city ruled by an Egyptianized prince. At Megiddo, Egyptian-style artifacts were found in the temple, tombs, and the treasury. Singer takes the finds from

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Hieratic inscriptions written on bowls and bowl fragments were found at Lachish, Tel Sera', and Tel Haror in southern Palestine. Most of them appear to be a type of accounting text related to the collection of taxes. As exemplified by the Aphek letter, Akkadian continued to serve as the language of diplomatic discourse.

the treasury, especially the inscribed ivories, as evidence that an Egyptian administrator directly ruled the city during the reign of Ramesses III. In fact, when viewed as a whole, the artifact assemblage appears more cosmopolitan than strictly Egyptian. In addition to local and Egyptian-style material, the assemblage comprised objects deriving from Syrian, Hittite, Cypriot, and Mycenaean stylistic traditions. Even the treasury contained Syrian-style ivories alongside the Egyptian-style pieces.

Support for the *Elite Emulation* model can also be found in the regional distribution of the finds. The sites with Egyptian-style material fall into four regions: southern Palestine broadly defined as the southern Philistine Plain, the southern Shephelah, and the Negev, the *Via Maris*, the northern Shephelah and the hill country, and the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys. Only two sites—Timna' and Haruvit—lie outside the four regions. These sites are not crucial to the analysis, since they were not within the settlement area of the ancient Palestinian city-state system. For purposes of statistical analysis, only the twenty-one sites falling within ancient Palestine will be considered in the paragraphs which follow.

As predicted by the *Elite Emulation* model, southern Palestine exhibits a high concentration of Egyptian-style material. This region includes nine of the twenty-one of the sites with Egyptian-style material (43%), encompassing Tell el-'Ajjul, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'a (South), Tel Haror, Tell el-Hesi, Tell Jemmeh, Lachish, Tell es-Safi, and Tel Sera'. Egyptian-style material is relatively common at these sites, representing a large proportion of the corpus of finds and comprising all artifact groups. Three of the four *Center Hall Houses* that have been definitely identified were found in this region, and a fourth structure, Building JF at Tell Jemmeh, may belong to that type. Lachish was the site of a *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies*. The only other structures of these types in Palestine were found at Beth Shan.

The region comprising the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys also exhibits a high concentration of Egyptian-style material. The five sites in this region—Beth Shan, Deir 'Alla, Hazor, Megiddo, and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh—vary greatly. Beth Shan was the Egyptian center of operations in the north, housing a garrison and probably collecting taxes. Although not purely Egyptian, the site yielded large quantities of Egyptian-style material of every category including several Egyptian-style buildings. Megiddo is the next most Egyptianized city in the region. The finds from Megiddo include significant quantities of

Egyptian-style and Egyptianizing artifacts, but no Egyptian-style archi-tecture. Lesser quantities of Egyptian-style material were found at the other sites with Hazor producing the fewest. The pattern of distribu-tion in the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys can be compared to the pat-tern in southern Palestine. Within the region, Egyptian-style material decreases in relative quantity as the distance from Beth Shan increases. Thus Beth Shan functioned as a base for emulation in the north much as Deir el-Balaḥ and Egypt itself functioned in the south.

Four sites with Egyptian-style material were located along the *Via Maris*—Aphek, Tell Ashdod, Tel Mor, and Jaffa. *Administrative Buildings* were found at two of the sites, Aphek and Tel Mor, and a pharaonic installation, perhaps a granary, appears to have been situated at Jaffa. Egyptian-style finds, though not rare at these sites, represent only a small proportion of the corpus of objects. The presence of Egyptian-style material in this region can be explained by its loca-tion along the primary land route linking Beth Shan with southern Palestine and Egypt).

Egyptian-style material has also been found at three sites in the interior of Palestine, either in the northern Shephelah or in the hill country. At all of these sites—Beth Shemesh, Dothan, and Gezer—Egyptian-style material was rare and constituted only a fraction of the excavated corpus. The difference in distribution patterns between this region and the *Via Maris* is due to the isolation of the sites. Although not far as the crow flies from the concentrations of Egyptian-style material, these sites were located off the major trade routes and therefore experienced much less contact with Egypt and Egyptian goods.

The System of Administration

A complete analysis of both the archaeological and textual evidence suggests, then, the existence of a mixed system of administration involving elements from both the *Elite Emulation* and *Direct Rule* mod-els. Egypt maintained a limited presence in the form of imperial cen-ters staffed by small numbers of soldiers and administrators. Alongside these centers were the city-states ruled by vassal princes who Egyp-tianized themselves to varying degrees.

Despite the popularity of the notion, there is no evidence for a system of resident governors. In Palestine, as in Nubia, the Egyptians

utilized circuit officials, whose permanent residence was in Egypt, to oversee provincial affairs. These circuit officials bore the Egyptian titles of *imy-r3 ḫ swt mḥtt* "overseer of northern lands" and *wpwty nsw* "royal envoy."

The role and status of the overseer of northern lands cannot be precisely defined given the available evidence. The two roles which are attested are intelligence gathering Kadesh Bulletin text and tax collecting Luxor temple forecourt relief . Other functions cannot be precluded. The Aphek letter indicates that Egyptian officials engaged in mediation between vassals, but since the text is in Akkadian, the function of mediation cannot be definitively associated with the office of overseer of northern lands.

The evidence suggests that the overseer of northern lands was not necessarily a high-ranking individual. The titularies of Pen-re' and Nuy, who bore the title *imy-r3 ḫ'swt mḥtt* during the reign of Ramesses II, do not include any markers of high status. In Nubia the title *imy-r3 ḫ3swt rsyt* "overseer of southern lands" is borne by both the viceroy of Kush and his deputy, the troop-commander of Kush. Since all of the attested overseers of northern lands except Nuy were also troop-commanders, it seems likely that the *imy-r3 ḫ'swt mḥtt* ranked on the same level as the second-in-command in Nubia, or perhaps slightly lower.

The title *wpwty nsw* seems to indicate function rather than rank. During the Ramesside period, the title was borne by a number of individuals of varying rank, including the vizier Pre'-hotep, the viceroy of Nubia Huy, the overseers of northern lands Pen-re' and Nuy, an individual named 'Anty all during the reign of Ramesses II and the scribe Amenemope during the reign of Merneptah . All of these individuals were sent as emissaries of the pharaoh to Asia. Some were mere courtiers, whereas others were empowered to conduct negotiations on behalf of the pharaoh. Whatever their level of author-ity, they bore the title of royal envoy because they were sent on a royal mission.

Alongside these circuit officials, vassal princes continued to rule their cities on behalf of the pharaoh. There is no evidence that they were being replaced by Egyptian officials during the Ramesside period. The extant documentation continues to mention their presence within the administration under the title of *wr* "chief." In Papyrus Anastasi III, the scribe Amenemope bears the title of royal envoy *n n3 wr n m3 sṯjw* "to the chiefs of the Asiatics." The Kadesh Bulletin

text holds these vassals accountable for providing the pharaoh with accurate intelligence.

In sum, the archaeological and textual data combine to present a complex picture involving both Egyptian domination of the region and emulation of Egyptian culture by local elites. The failure of the archaeological data to conform in every respect to the *Elite Emulation* model is indicative of the political domination of Palestine by Egypt. That domination did not, however, take the form of *Direct Rule*. A small number of Egyptian military and administrative personnel were resident in the perhaps four imperial centers identified so far. Circuit officials and royal envoys were dispatched from Egypt to oversee the region as needed. For the most part, Palestine was governed by local vassal princes on behalf of their Egyptian overlord. Over time, many members of the local elite classes began to emulate Egyptian culture, which would presumably have enhanced their status in the eyes of both their own population and the pharaonic bureaucracy.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study represents a first step toward a new understanding of the Egyptian Empire in the southern Levant. It offers only a general outline of social and political developments during the Ramesside period; future research will fill out our picture of these events, clarifying many of the details about which we are not yet certain. I have suggested a new paradigm, but much work remains to be done.

The renewed excavations at Jaffa, under the direction of Ze'ev Herzog, will likely elucidate the nature of the pharaonic installation there. Questions to be answered include: To what kind of structure did the gates bearing the names of Ramesses II belong? Did Jaffa function primarily as a site for the collection and transshipment of grain as suggested by Amarna letter EA 294, or does the evidence attest to other functions as well? How continuous and extensive was the Egyptian presence? Although the evidence published to date or available for examination at the Museum of the Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa suggests a modest Egyptian presence, further excavation and analysis may reveal a heavily Egyptianized site like Deir el-Balah and Beth Shan.

Each of the categories of material evidence deserves a more detailed examination than time and space will permit in a comprehensive,

synthetic study like this one. Betsy Bryan's 1996 analysis of the Megiddo ivories from the perspective of Egyptian art history provides new insights into their place in the cultural history of the region. She is able to offer a much more precise dating of the pieces and to distinguish between the Egyptianizing and Egyptian-style ivories. If more such studies by the appropriate specialists are forthcoming for other artifact types, they will enhance our understanding of the processes of Egyptianization.

One of the most fruitful lines of inquiry is likely to be chemical analysis to determine where artifacts of each type and material were produced. Although cost remains a formidable obstacle to obtaining this data, many issues will rest unresolved until we know the points of production. On the crudest level, place of manufacture is the distinguishing factor between imported Egyptian artifacts and locally-made Egyptian-style artifacts. At present we can make this distinction in only a few cases, most notably "alabaster" vessels and the Beth Shan glass and faience objects. On a more sophisticated level, identification of the points of production for Egyptian-style artifacts would clarify the lines of transmission of Egyptian culture. McGovern 1990 has demonstrated that artisans working at Beth Shan produced Egyptian-style glass and faience objects; however, we do not yet know how wide an area the Beth Shan workshop served. Was the manufacture of Egyptian-style artifacts centralized in one or two sites in Palestine, or did local princes sponsor the production of the objects they wanted? Were artifacts of different types or materials produced at different sites dependant upon the presence of artisans or raw materials? At the heart of these questions is the issue of control of the economy and the culture.

The issue of control of the culture suggests the need for a thorough study of the iconography of power in Ramesside Palestine. Such a study would span artifact types to examine the symbols in use, their origins and the modifications they have undergone. The cosmopolitan nature of sites like Megiddo raises the question of the extent to which symbols drawn from other, non-Egyptian, cultural spheres, like Hatti and Syria, contributed to the iconography of power. I have only touched upon these issues in the discussion of Egyptianizing objects, such as the Megiddo ivories, the Balu'a stele, and the Lachish sarcophagus with the crude hieroglyphic inscription. Another important issue yet to be examined is local and regional variation in iconography. Were individual princes negotiating their

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own signification for Egyptian symbols, or was pattern of symbol use relatively uniform and widespread?

In a broader sense as well, this study has serious implications for the way in which we reconstruct the history of Syria-Palestine. The more inclusive we are in terms of the causal forces, types of evidence and methods we consider, the more sophisticated our reconstructions will be.

We need to recognize the complexity of cultural developments, giving more attention to internal factors. Until recently historical studies have explained social and political developments largely in terms of the effects of external forces. Scholars have given significantly less credit to the interaction of local forces with those from outside. Yet this study is a case in point for the benefits of attending to both internal and external factors. The Egyptianization of Ramesside Palestine was not due solely to the imposition of Egyptian imperial rule over the region, nor was it a consequence of internal developments alone. Rather it resulted from an interaction between two cultures, as the local elite classes responded to the policies of the Egyptian Empire. The logical implication of these observations extends beyond the conclusion that local rulers negotiate their own accommodations to imperial rule to include the inference that local socio-political developments result from interactions between the ruler and the ruled. As we continue to write the social history of Syria-Palestine, we need to attend to the responses of the governed at all levels, as well as to policies of the various levels of government.

Complexity enters into our work as it becomes ever more interdisciplinary. Noone imagines anymore that a history of Israel or Syria-Palestine can be written from the perspective of a single discipline. We recognize quite readily the existence of two data sets, textual and archaeological, each contributing essential evidence and each requiring its own method of analysis. Whereas specific issues in the social or political history of the region might be addressed from within a narrow specialty, a comprehensive historical reconstruction requires the integration of evidence from both types of data. Indeed the need to be interdisciplinary is much more extensive than this distinction between textual and archaeological analysis suggests. Within ancient near eastern studies alone, our history writing benefits from insights from art history, Egyptology and Assyriology.

The problem, of course, is that no scholar can be expert in all of these fields. When we attempt to integrate all of them into our

[handwritten margin note: multi-approach to history]

work, we run the risk that our amateurism in one or another of these disciplines will lead us to a major *faux pas*. Yet it seems to me that we cannot afford not to take the risk. The need to reexamine our broader models and presuppositions is too critical. We are rightly critical of scholars whose appropriation of other disciplines is uncritical and unsophisticated. If we choose to venture outside our own narrow specialties, we have an obligation to educate ourselves as fully as possible in each area and to consult liberally with colleagues in the various disciplines, but we must also accept the fact that synthetic studies will never speak the last word on the details; we can depend on the specialists to find the small errors and refine our conclusions.

I am under no illusion that my analyses of the various artifact types will escape the critical eye of specialists in many disciplines. In fact I hope that my work sparks enough interest and controversy to lead to improvements in the typologies I have constructed. Although I have focused on the broad picture and a synthetic approach, the details do matter.

Despite these caveats, this study demonstrates the rewards of an integrative approach. Examination of smaller data sets has not led many scholars to challenge the prevailing model of *Direct Rule*. In fact, the analysis of any one artifact type could not lead to a convincing argument for the *Elite Emulation* model. The argument depends on the cumulative evidence of all the material remains correlated with the textual data. One of the strengths of interdisciplinary work is that it highlights our presuppositions, since different disciplines often operate from different assumptions about their data. In this case, the interdisciplinary approach has clarified the need to reexamine our models of empire. The correlation of the evidence of all types has rendered the old model untenable. Although continuing study of the Egyptian Empire will undoubtedly result in refinements of my reconstruction, we will not be able to return to a nineteenth-century model of empire.

One important interdisciplinary field, which has informed this study, is core-periphery analysis. The model of *Elite Emulation* depends on consideration of Palestine as peripheral to Egypt: Local Palestinian princes emulated Egyptian culture because Egypt was the core civilization in whose periphery those princes defined themselves. "Peripheral" is an apt description of the region throughout history. The Israelites, like the political and ethnic entities which preceded them in the southern Levant, fell in the periphery of one or another of

the great civilizations of the ancient near east. Insights from core-periphery studies may offer new paradigms for explaining the political and cultural history of Israel as they have for Ramesside Palestine.

Future research in the history of Syria-Palestine will certainly be highly interdisciplinary in character. We will need to continue to develop ways to synthesize evidence drawn from a wide variety of disciplines. The result will be a much more nuanced picture of social and political developments in the region.

APPENDICES

servants wades through a marsh to present him with fowl and cattle.

The box was studied recently by B. Bryan 1996: 62 69 who dates it on art historical grounds to the late Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasties. The details of the throne and the attire of the man seated upon it are particularly characteristic of the Twentieth Dynasty.

The box is not purely Egyptian in inspiration, but combines Egyptian and Aegean motifs. Although the throne and the ruler's dress are closely modeled after late Ramesside fashions, the hairstyles of the servants and the depiction of the bull are drawn from Aegean models Bryan 1996: 66).

Palestine:
  Tell el-Farʿa (S) Petrie 1930: pl. LV

APPENDIX C

TYPOLOGY OF EGYPTIAN-STYLE OBJECTS

The Egyptian-style objects from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine compose a heterogeneous assemblage. They range in size from very small objects, like *Scarabs* and *Pendants*, to life-size *Statues*. Some types occur in large numbers at many sites, whereas others are represented by only one example.

For convenience of reference and comparison, the Egyptian-style objects have been divided into thirteen categories: blades and weapons, objects related to animal husbandry, ritual objects, animal figurines, human and divine figurines and plaques, statues and statuettes, stelae, anthropoid sarcophagi, jewelry, pendants, scarabs and seals, toilet objects, and miscellaneous objects. Within each category, a typology based on shape and material is created. At the end of the discussion of each type or subtype, a catalogue of the examples of that type from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine is provided.

BLADES AND WEAPONS

There are six types of Blades and Weapons found in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine: *Razors, Hoof-handled Knives, Papyrus Needles, Lugged Axeheads, Chisels,* and *Fork-shaped Spear Butts.*

Type 1: Razors

Two subtypes of Egyptian-style *Razors* have been found in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine *Notched Razors* and *Trapezoidal Razors*. Both are made of bronze.

Type 1A: Notched Razors

The *Notched Razor* is characterized by a notch in the upper half of the blade. In all but one of the examples from Palestine the tip of the blade curves away from the notched edge. *Notched Razors,* or cutting-out

knives as they are also called, were found in tomb contexts at Lachish and Deir el-Balaḥ and in occupational strata at Beth Shan and Tell Jemmeh.

This type of blade was popular in Egypt at least through the Eighteenth Dynasty (Petrie 1917: 51, pls. LXII:14 26, LXIII:33–47; Vandier d'Abbadie 1972: 164–165; Brovarski, Doll and Freed 1982: ill. 224).

Palestine:
  Beth Shan James and McGovern 1993: fig. 149:5
  Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1979: 18–19, 72, ills. 34, 157
  Tell Jemmeh Petrie 1928: 13, pl. XXIII:7–8
  Lachish Tufnell 1958: 78, pl. 23:7–8

Type 1B: Trapezoidal Razors

The blade of the *Trapezoidal Razor* is in the shape of a trapezoid with a pointed projection. One example was found in tomb 90 at Beth Shan. Examples from Egypt can be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty Petrie 1917: pls. LX LXI; Brovarski, Doll and Freed 1982: ills. 220–221).

Palestine:
  Beth Shan Oren 1973: 119 120, fig. 45:15

Type 2: Hoof-handled Knives

Hoof-handled Knives are made of bronze and have a handle shaped like a gazelle's leg ending in a hoof. The blade may be straight or curved. *Hoof-handled Knives* come from precisely the same contexts as *Notched Razors*, tomb 216 at Lachish, tomb 114 at Deir el-Balaḥ and building J at Tell Jemmeh.

Two examples from Egypt can be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty Petrie 1917: 24 25, pls. XXVI:145, XXIX:231–232 .

Palestine:
  Deir el Balah (T. Dothan 1979: 18, ill. 33)
  Tell Jemmeh Petrie 1928: 13, pl. XXIII:9
  Lachish Tufnell 1958: 78, pl. 23:4–6,

Type 3: Papyrus Needles

The *Papyrus Needle*, as it was termed by Petrie 1917: 52 , is a long, thin bronze knife with a narrow handle which fans out at the end. It *may* be an Egyptian-style knife since parallels are known from Egypt. Unfortunately the examples cited by Petrie 1917: pl. LXV:58 59 are undated, leaving the matter in doubt.

Palestine:
  Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1979: 19, ill. 35

Type 4: Lugged Axeheads

An Egyptian-style *Lugged Axehead* was found in City IV/Sub IV at Tell el-Hesi. It is made of bronze and has wide lugs to facilitate fastening the axehead to the handle. Such lugs are characteristic of Egyptian *Axeheads* from the Second Intermediate Period through the Third Intermediate Period. The shape of our *Axehead* belongs specifically to the Eighteenth Dynasty Davies 1987: 23 24, ills. 125 130).

Palestine:
  Tell el Hesi Bliss 1894: 82, fig. 168

Type 5: Chisels

The excavators of Ashdod report finding a *Chisel* "similar in form to the Egyptian chisels of the XIXth Dynasty found at Serabit el-Khadem in Sinai and at Memphis" ,M. Dothan and Freedman 1967: 80 81 . Although no illustration of the Ashdod *Chisel* was published, they compare it to *Chisels* catalogued by Petrie 1917: pls. 21:35, 22:81 .

Palestine:
  Ashdod M. Dothan and Freedman 1967: 80-81

Type 6: Fork-shaped Spear Butts

A socketed, *Fork-shaped Spear Butt* of bronze was found in tomb 90 at Beth Shan. This type is otherwise restricted to Egypt Petrie 1888: pl. III; 1917: 33, pls. XXXIX:203 206, XL:180 187; Randall-MacIver 1902: 55, pl. XXII:23 .

Palestine:
  Beth Shan Oren 1973: 118 119, fig. 45:5

Objects Related to Animal Husbandry

Type 1: Goose-shaped Brands

A *Goose-shaped Brand* made of bronze was found in Palace IV LB IIB' at Tell el-'Ajjul. In Egypt, "marking the ownership of cattle by branding is known from the Eighteenth Dynasty" Stead 1986: 32, fig. 43. The goose is among the attested shapes Petrie 1917: 57, pl. LXXI:47–49; Janssen 1989: fig. 22.

Palestine:
   Tell el-'Ajjul Petrie 1932: 9, pl. XIX:272

Type 2: Harness Rings

A small bronze plaque in the shape of a lotus with rings attached at the top and bottom came to light in the excavation of the LB IIB "Governor's Residence" at Aphek. Based on the battle of Kadesh reliefs from the Ramesseum, the excavator suggests that "it served as part of the head-harness of a chariot horse, joining the bit to the reigns" (Kochavi 1990: xxiii.

Palestine:
   Aphek Kochavi 1990: xxiii, 40, ill. 21

Ritual Objects

This category comprises objects intended exclusively for use in cultic activities. Objects with multiple or indeterminate functions are treated elsewhere.

All but one of the types of objects in this category are clearly connected with the worship of the Egyptian goddess Hathor. In fact, most of them derive from the Hathor temple at Timna'.

Type 1: Menat Counterpoises

The *Menat Counterpoises* from Palestine are made of blue- or green-glazed faience and shaped like flat quadrangles terminating in circular or oval disks. Royal cartouches in black paint were written on the upper portion of the *Menat Counterpoises*. The disk was decorated with a floral design, also in black paint.

Fragments of seventeen *Menat Counterpoises* were found in the Hathor Temple at Timna'. One bore the cartouches of Ramesses II Rothenberg 1988: 119–121, fig. 32:6; one the cartouches of Seti II Rothenberg 1988: 119, fig. 31:3; and two the cartouches of Ramesses IV Rothenberg 1988: 119–121, figs. 31:3, 32:5. The fragment of another could be Siptah, Setnakhte, or Ramesses VII Rothenberg 1988: 120, fig. 29:6,.

In Egypt *menat* necklaces, Egyptian *mnyt*, are known from the Middle Kingdom, or perhaps even the Sixth Dynasty Staehelin 1966: 125. The *Menat Counterpoise* was the counterbalancing weight for a necklace of faience beads and was worn on the back between the shoulder blades or held in the hand Kayser 1969: 228. The *menat* necklace is particularly associated with the cult of Hathor Barguet 1953: 106; Hickmann: 101,. A relief in a Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Meir showing a celebration of the Hathor cult depicts a procession of women with a *menat* and a *Sistrum* in either hand Allam 1963: 28, Taf. VI. In Sinai Hathor is represented holding a scepter, an *'ankh*, a *Sistrum*, or a *menat* Allam 1963: 83). The Coffin Texts contain references to both the *Sistrum* and *menat* as cultic instruments related to Hathor Allam 1963: 127–128.

Palestine:
   Timna' Rothenberg 1988: 119–121, 141, figs. 29:6, 31:1–3, 32:1–6, 33:6–8, 40:1, pls. 118:8, 120:5–6, 121:1, 5–8,

Type 2: Sistra

The *Sistrum* is a musical instrument that was used in the cult of Hathor. Metal disks strung on wire within a metal or faience frame produced a rattling noise when the instrument was shaken. In Egypt, *Sistra* occur in two subtypes, arched and naos Hickmann 1949: 76; Anderson 1976: 40.

The nine *Sistra* fragments found in the Hathor temple at Timna' were made of either faience or glazed ceramic; some were decorated with black paint.

Three of the fragments belong to the naos subtype. The four Hathor heads probably supported naos frames, although the arched subtype cannot be ruled out. There were also two handles.

Like many of the faience *Sistrum* handles from Egypt, these handles were inscribed. One handle bore the inscription *mry ḥwt-ḥr nbt' mfkt* "beloved of [Hathor, Lady of] Turquoise" in black paint on both sides Rothenberg 1988: 118, fig. 29:5, pl. 120:2. A Nineteenth

Dynasty handle from Deir el-Bahari now in the British Museum is similarly inscribed: *... stp-n-rˁ sty-mr-n-ptḥ mry ḥwt-ḥr nbt mfkt* "...Setepenre Seti-Merneptah beloved of Hathor, Lady of Turquoise" Anderson 1976: 58, fig. 106. The other handle from Timnaˁ read *[...] di ˁnḥ* "given life" on one side and *[..., dt* "forever" on the other Rothenberg 1988: 118, fig. 29:4, pl. 120:3.

Palestine:
   Timnaˁ Rothenberg 1988: 117 119, figs. 27:1-4, 28:1, 29: 1 5, 30:2, pls. 118:2-3; 119:1; 120:2 3

Type 3: Wands

Fragments of five *Wands* were found in the Hathor temple at Timnaˁ. They are made of green-glazed faience decorated with black paint. The *Wands* are flat and shaped at one end like the head of an animal with a long snout. The eyes and mouth of the animal are painted in black.

Faience *Wands* also surfaced in the temple at Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinai. Based on the royal names that appeared on some of them, they range in date from Thutmose I to Ramesses IV. The Ramesside *Wands* from Serabit have the same shape as the Timnaˁ *Wands* but differ in their decoration. They have wadjet-eyes and a cartouche on the snout Petrie 1906: 144 145, fig. 150.

In Egypt *Wands*, which are also known as magical knives, were extremely common during the Middle Kingdom. Although less common, New Kingdom examples do exist, such as a faience *Wand* bearing the name of Akhnaton Steindorff 1946: 42 43.

Palestine:
   Timnaˁ Rothenberg 1988: 135 136, fig. 45:2, 4-7, pl. 5

Type 4: Clappers

A *Clapper* made of hippo ivory came from the level VII LB IIB temple at Beth Shan. It is curved like a boomerang and terminates in a Hathor head surmounted by a hand, both modeled in low relief.

Clappers found in Egypt are usually made of wood or bone and may be either straight or curved. The *Clapper* terminates in a human hand below which there may be a Hathor head. Hathor-headed *Clappers* are quite rare in Egypt only ten examples are known and

are restricted in date to the New Kingdom. A *Clapper* in the Louvre no. 7069 with very elongated fingers, which dates to the New Kingdom, is very similar to the one from Beth Shan Sourdive 1984: 201 204.

Palestine:
   Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XX:23, XXXV:13, XLVIIA:4; James and McGovern 1993: fig. 105:1

Type 5: Model Bread Offerings

Two clay spheres with stamped impressions came from near the level VI Iron I temple at Beth Shan. Although the impressions on one are illegible, the impressions on the other clearly read *imnyt* "daily offering." These objects have been plausibly interpreted as *Model Bread Offerings* Rowe 1927: 426.

Palestine:
   Beth Shan James 1966: fig. 105:9 10, 12

Type 6: Aegis Heads

A Hathor *Aegis Head* was unearthed in the area of the level VII temple at Beth Shan. It is made of bronze covered with gold foil and is about four inches in height. On the back are two "staples" for attaching the *Aegis Head* to another object Rowe 1927: 428 430; 1930: 26, n. 54; 1940: pl. XLVIIA:3. A faience pendant in the form of a Hathor *Aegis Head* was found in Fosse Temple III at Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: pl. XXI:46.

In Egypt, *Aegis Heads* of this size are usually interpreted as votive offerings Affholder-Gérard and Cornic 1990: 152 153. Larger ones were used as terminals on divine boats, and smaller ones as pendants Brovarski, Doll and Freed 1982: ill. 252. Egyptian *Aegis Heads* were made in the shape of a variety of deities, including Hathor, Sakhmet, and Bastet Roeder 1956: 469 472, pls. 64-65. Although more common in the Late Period, *Aegis Heads* are known from the New Kingdom Brovarski, Doll and Freed 1982: ill. 252.

Palestine:
   Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pl. XLVIIA:3; James and McGovern 1993: 81:1

ANIMAL FIGURINES

Seven types of animal figurines modeled after Egyptian prototypes occur in LB IIB–Iron IA sites in Palestine: *Sphinxes*, *Uraei*, *Hawks*, *Cats*, *Duck Heads*, *Bulls*, and *Hippopotami*.

Type 1: Sphinxes

Stone *Sphinxes* derive from two sites in LB IIB–Iron IA Palestine: Haruvit and Timna'. Three are made of sandstone and one of alabaster. All are fragmentary.

Palestine:
  Haruvit Oren 1980: 30–31; 1987: 96
  Timna' Rothenberg 1988: 116–117, figs. 22:2, 25:2, 26, pls. 114:1, 115.

Type 2: Uraei

Clay *Uraei*, or cobra figurines, were found at Haruvit and Beth Shan. Some of the Beth Shan *Uraei* have applied clay pellets suggesting breasts.

Palestine:
  Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XXI:5, XLIIA:2, 5; James and McGovern 1993: figs. 83–85
  Haruvit Oren 1980: 30–31

Type 3: Hawks

A limestone *Hawk Figurine* wearing the double Egyptian crown was found in the level VI (Iron IA) temple at Beth Shan. There were traces of red paint on the breast, crown, base, and between the legs. The tail and claws showed traces of blue paint (Rowe 1940: 81).

Palestine:
  Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XXXV:8, LIA:4

Type 4: Cats

Fragments of eleven blue-glazed faience *Cat Figurines* were found in the Hathor temple at Timna'. They were decorated in black or brown paint. Figurines of this type were also associated with the

Hathor cult at Serabit el-Khadem in Sinai (Petrie 1906: pl. 153:6–14).

Although *Cat Figurines* have not been clearly connected to Hathor worship in Egypt, the association of cats with Hathor worship in Egypt is well established. Cats were represented on objects, such as *Sistra*, *Menats*, and *Stelae*, that were used in Hathor cults (Malék 1993: 92–93).

The ivory cat figurine from the Fosse Temple at Lachish had a peg on the bottom to attach it to another object, perhaps a comb. Combs surmounted by cats are known from Egypt (Petrie 1927: pl. XX).

Several poorly preserved figurines and appliqués from Beth Shan appear to be feline or at least mammalian (James and McGovern 1993: 173–174, figs. 90–91). Only one clay figurine head painted in black is certainly a cat.

Palestine:
  Beth Shan James and McGovern 1993: fig. 91:3)
  Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 61, pl. XVII:9
  Timna' Rothenberg 1988: 125–127, figs. 33:1–5, 38:1–5, pl. 118:6–7

Type 5: Duck Heads

The *Duck Heads* from LB IIB–Iron IA site in Palestine resemble the heads on Egyptian-style *Duck Spoons*, and some of the *Duck Heads* catalogued here may have been attached to *Spoons* originally. They are made of three materials—ivory, alabaster, and clay. Eleven *Duck Heads*— one of alabaster, one of ivory, and the rest of clay—were found at Beth Shan. The Megiddo treasury contained seven ivory *Duck Heads*. Four clay *Duck Heads* came from Haruvit, and one ivory *Duck Head* from the Fosse Temple at Lachish. Of the Beth Shan *Duck Heads*, seven derive from the level VII (LB IIB) temple, five from other level VII loci, one from the level VI (Iron IA) temple, and three from other level VI loci.

Palestine:
  Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XX:13–18, XXI:8, 12, LIIA:2; James 1966: figs. 101:24, 106:3, 107:9; James and McGovern 1993: figs. 86–89
  Haruvit Oren 1980: 30–31
  Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 61, pl. XVII:10
  Megiddo Loud 1939: pl. 45:202–209

Type 6: Bulls

An ivory figurine of a couchant *Bull* was found in the LB IIB Fosse Temple at Lachish. The figurine is carved in the round and has a hole in the base for a peg to attach it to another object. The forelegs of the animal are both tucked directly back under him, while the hindquarters are turned to the side (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 61, pl. XVII:11).

The pose of the animal is paralleled among the Egyptian bronze weights in the shape of cattle. Dated examples derive from the Eighteenth Dynasty (Roeder 1956: 334–335).

Palestine:
　Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 61, pl. XVII:11

Type 7: Hippopotami

A red burnished clay *Hippopotamus* figurine came from the level VI temple at Beth Shan (Rowe 1940: pls. XXI:13, LIIIA:4). An amethyst pendant in the form of the same animal is among the Egyptian-style pendants from LB I Tell el-'Ajjul (McGovern 1985: 37).

Palestine:
　Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XXI:13, LIIIA:4

HUMAN AND DIVINE FIGURINES AND PLAQUES

This category comprises figurines and plaques depicting human beings and deities in human form that have marked Egyptian features.

Type 1: Ushabtis

The *Ushabti* is a mummiform figurine intended primarily as a funerary object. It is often inscribed with formulae from the Egyptian Book of the Dead expressing the *Ushabti's* function as a substitute for the deceased as a laborer in the afterworld. According to Aubert 1974: 126, by the Ramesside period clay *Ushabtis* were included in the burials of even the poorest Egyptians.

The *Ushabtis* from Palestine are either clay or green-glazed faience. Eight clay, mold-made *Ushabtis* were found inside *Anthropoid Sarcophagi*

in four tombs at Beth Shan. According to Oren 1973: 123, they were made in four different molds. Three *Ushabtis* from the same mold were found in three different tombs. The lower half of a faience *Ushabti* was unearthed at Timna'. It was inscribed in black with a "somewhat garbled and abbreviated, but still recognizable version of most of the standard ushabti formulae" (Rothenberg 1988: 125). In addition to these published examples, T. Dothan 1987: 131 reports finding an unspecified number of *Ushabtis* in strata VI–IV at Deir el-Balah.

One of the Beth Shan *Ushabtis* was found in association with four figurines of Mycenaean type; the five figurines were all inside coffin B in tomb 241 (Oren 1973: 124).

Palestine:
　Beth Shan Oren 1973: 123, fig. 45:24, 47b:26–28, 49:22–24, 50:13
　Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1987: 131
　Timna' Rothenberg 1988: 125, fig. 28:2, pl. 119:2

Type 2: Concubines

Nude female figurines on beds, often termed *Concubines*, occur in Egypt from Predynastic to Ptolemaic times (Breasted 1948: 96). T. Dothan 1987: 131 reports finding one such figurine of stone in strata VI–IV at Deir el-Balah. Kochavi 1990: xxi suggests that the clay figurine from the Aphek "Governor's Residence" in the form of "a supine woman without the trappings of a goddess" was modeled after the Egyptian *Concubine* figurines.

Palestine:
　Aphek Kochavi 1990: xxi, 38, ill. 14
　Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1987: 131

Type 3: Seth

In Area G at Ashdod the excavators found the "upper part of a bronze figure of one of the Egyptian gods, probably Seth" (M. Dothan in press). It is in the form of a uraeus wearing a sun-disk and horns.

Palestine:
　Ashdod M. Dothan in press

Type 4: Ptah

A badly corroded bronze figurine from Tell el-Hesi may be a representation of the Egyptian god Ptah. The figurine is four inches tall and has traces of gold-plate on its neck.

Palestine:
Tell el-Hesi Bliss 1894: 67 68, fig. 110

Type 5: Females with Hathor Curls

Mold-made plaques depicting nude females with outward-turning curls characteristic of the Egyptian goddess Hathor are common in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. The figures often hold a lotus flower in either hand. The women lack the other features, such as cow's ears, that would identify them as representations of Hathor. They are probably local goddesses depicted in Egyptianizing fashion.

There are two plaques from Aphek, eight from Beth Shemesh, three from Gezer, and two from Lachish.

Palestine:
Aphek Kochavi 1990: xxi, 38, ills. 15 16
Beth Shemesh Grant 1934: 35 36, 48, pl. XIX; Grant and Wright 1938: pl. LI:14–18; 1939: 155
Gezer Dever, Lance and Wright 1970: pl. 37:10-11; Dever, ed., 1986: pl. 58:8
Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: pl. XXVIII:6; Tufnell 1958: pl. 49:4

Type 6: Plaque Molds

A broken clay mold for a plaque was found in level III at Beth Shemesh. It depicts two figures, one male and one female. The faces of the figures are missing, but they wear plumed headdresses. The female carries an 'ankh in either hand; the male has an 'ankh in his left hand and a scepter in his right.

Palestine:
Beth Shemesh Grant 1934: 53 54, fig. 4

Figure 15

Statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shan courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority

STATUES AND STATUETTES

Type 1: Stone Statues and Statuettes

Complete or fragmentary *Stone Statues and Statuettes* were unearthed in excavations at four sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine: Beth Shan, Hazor, Timna', and Megiddo. In addition, a fragment of a *Statue* of a Ramesside queen was found north of Ashdod and will be published in the forthcoming volume on Ashdod M. Dothan in press.

The *Statues* can be divided into two groups on the basis of material and date of manufacture. The *Statues* from Beth Shan, Hazor, and Timna' were made of stone that was available locally and produced in the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age. The *Statues* from Megiddo were made of grano-diorite and date to the Twelfth Dynasty.

Beth Shan

A basalt *Statue* of Ramesses III (see Figure 15) was found in the level V temple at Beth Shan Rowe 1930: pl. 51 . Although the archaeological context is later than Iron IA, the *Statue* was presumably produced during Iron IA and subsequently moved to the later temple. The seated figure is clearly identified as Ramesses III by the cartouches cut into either shoulder.

The pose of the king is quite remarkable. He is shown seated upon a plain rectangular throne with a low back. Although both arms and the left hand are broken away, the right hand forms a fist resting on the right knee. The feet and legs are spread apart leaving a broad gap between them.

The placement of the legs is unprecedented in Egyptian sculpture. Normally the king's legs were placed close together with only a small gap between them. The only exception to this rule are *Statues* of a seated god with a king kneeling or standing in front of him. The positioning of the king between the feet of the deity forced the legs apart, but the gap is completely filled by the royal figure Legrain 1909: pl. III; Ziegler 1990: p. 47, #E11609 .

The representation of the facial features of Ramesses III is also striking. The eyebrows and noseridge are so pronounced that the

Although the face has sustained damage, especially to the nose and left cheek, the treatment of the eyes and forehead is unaffected.

king appears to be wearing a mask, like a raccoon. A close examination of the *Statue* reveals that the effect has been created by recessing both the eyes and the forehead. The results can be seen on the wig as well. The bangs are recessed in comparison to the sides of the wig and marked off by a distinct groove. The bottom of the uraeus is even with the edge of the wig and appears stunted, as if the lower portion had been cut away.

The most likely explanation for these peculiarities is that the *Statue* was usurped and recarved for Ramesses III. Egyptian kings are known to have usurped and recut the *Statues* of their predecessors Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 129 . For instance, a *Statue* of Ramesses II has recently been shown to have belonged originally to Amenhotep III Kozloff and Bryan 1992: ill. 14 . The thick cosmetic lines were erased, and the facial features reshaped to reflect the elements that characterized a portrait of Ramesses II. Since Ramesses II had a rounder, fuller face than Amenhotep III, the artisan raised the beard line at the chin and lowered the browband on the headcloth to make the face shorter and, hence, rounder Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 172 175 . Although few *Statues* of Ramesses III are extant, the prominent eyebrows and noseridge would seem to be characteristic elements of his portrait Legrain 1909: pls. XII, XIII . The problems that confronted this Twentieth Dynasty artisan were the opposite of those faced by the artisans of Ramesses II. Instead of erasing a protruding feature, the artisan had to create it. The solution was to carve back the surrounding areas. At the same time, the forehead was apparently lengthened by raising the edge of the wig, making the face appear longer and narrower than before.

The treatment of the feet and sandals supports this hypothesis. The top of the foot is recessed with respect to the toes; or to put it another way, the toes and sandal thong are at approximately the same height. It would appear that the artisan recut a bare foot into one wearing a sandal by shaving away the top of the foot.

A fourth peculiarity of this *Statue* is the pleating on the skirt. Normally a short skirt like this one would have horizontal pleats e.g. Legrain 1909: pl. III , although vertical pleats are not unprecedented Aldred 1951: pl. 134 .

Despite these peculiarities, the *Statue* shows signs of a high level of technical competence on the part of the artisan. The modeling of the torso is sensitively done, especially considering the poor quality of the stone. The treatment of the necklace and wig reflect a

high standard of Egyptian artistry. Even the sandals, which betray signs of recutting, were technically well done.

This *Statue*, then, seems most likely to have been recut for Ramesses III, possibly from a double *Statue* of a seated deity with a kneeling king between his feet. The kneeling king was removed, and the god transformed into Ramesses III. Another example of a divine *Statue* recut into a royal one may be found in the collection of the Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität in Strassburg. A head of Ramesses III (Speigelberg 1909: Taf. IX) apparently began as a representation of the god Amun.

> Auf dem Untersatz der roten Krone ist deutlich ein nicht ganz 2 cm breiter Streifen bemerkbar, der von einem wegemeisselten Stück her-rührt. Dieses kann aber kaum etwas anderes gewesen sein als die Amonsfedern, hinter denen der Rückenpfeiler stehen gelassen war. Aus irgen einem Grunde ist dann der Gott in den König verwandelt worden, in dem man die Feder beseitigte und das hintere Stück der unteraegyp-tischen Krone aus dem Pfeiler herausgearbeite (Spiegelberg 1909: 12).

Furthermore, the eyepaint lines on the side of the face appear in the photograph to have been partially erased.

Hazor
Two basalt *Statues* were found in stratum 1A (LB IIB) at Hazor (Yadin et al. 1961: pls. CXCVII, CCCXXVI–CCCXXVII; Yadin et al. 1989: 324–327). The figures are seated on chairs with their hands on their knees holding a cup. The head of one is not preserved.

P. Beck recognizes a combination of Egyptian and Syrian stylis-tic features in these *Statues*. She notes in particular the hairdo, seat, and line of the arm as reflecting Egyptian conventions. She con-cludes that "the statues, therefore, should be considered as works of a local sculptor who had been inspired by Egyptian models, adding to them the Syrian garment and the important attribute, the cup" (Yadin et al. 1989: 326).

Timna'
The head of a white sandstone *Statuette* (Rothenberg 1988: fig. 25:1, pl. 117:1) and three *Statue* bases of the same material (Rothenberg 1988: 268, pls. 114:2, 4, 116:2) were found in the Hathor temple at Timna'. Only the head and right shoulder of the *Statuette* are pre-served. Although the stone is worn, the female figure clearly has human and not cow's ears, making an identification with Hathor unlikely. Schulman (Rothenberg 1988: 116–117) raises the possibility that she

might be the wife of Ramesses II, Nefertari, since *Statues* of that queen were placed in the temple at Abu Simbel, but that is mere speculation.

Megiddo
Fragments of six Twelfth Dynasty imported grano-diorite *Statues* were imbedded in the platform wall of the stratum VII temple at Megiddo (Loud 1948: pls. 265–266) and in nearby loci (Loud 1948: pl. 267:4, 6). One of the *Statues* bore an inscription identifying the figure as Thuthotep. The presence of these *Statues* made some 500 years ear-lier than the strata in which they were used raises questions that do not directly bear on LB contact with Egypt.

Palestine:
   Beth Shan (Rowe 1930: pl. 51)
   Hazor (Yadin et al. 1961: pls. CXCVII, CCCXXVI–CCCXXVII)
   Megiddo (Loud 1948: pls. 265–266; 267:4, 6)
   Timna' (Rothenberg 1988: fig. 25:1, pls. 114:2, 4, 116:2, 117:1)

Type 2: Composite Statues

Ivory hands that may have been part of *Composite Statues* were found at Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 243:17) and Lachish (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 61, pl. XVI:7). The Megiddo hand had three holes to receive tenons; the Lachish hand had a thick tenon extending beyond the wrist and a 3/8 inch hole drilled through the palm. It is also possible that the hands came from *Cosmetic Spoons* (see Appendix B, Ivory Vessel Type 1).

Palestine:
   Lachish (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: pl. XVI:7)
   Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 243:17)

STELAE

A number of *Stelae* or *Stele* fragments derive from LB IIB–Iron IA Palestine. Five came from Beth Shan, four from Deir el-Balah, and two from sites on the east bank of the Jordan. All were made of local stone —basalt, *kurkar* (sandstone), or limestone.

Three of the Beth Shan *Stelae* contain lengthy inscriptions, which were discussed in chapter 2 in the sections on the reigns of Seti I

and Ramesses II. Although found in the level V temple, it is clear from the inscriptions that they were commissioned and erected at the site in LB IIB. Similarly the fragment of the Mekal *Stele* that was found in the level VII temple (Rowe 1940: pl. XXVIII:19) belonged originally to level IX where the rest of the *Stele* was found.

The relief on the so-called "first" Beth Shan *Stele* of Seti I is well preserved. The scene depicts two standing figures: the god Re' and the king. Re' appears in the form of a hawk-headed figure with the solar disk above him. In his right hand, he holds the *was*-scepter, and in his left an *'ankh*. The king has an offering pot in each hand and extends his arms toward the god. Between Seti and Re', there is an offering table with a libation pot and a lotus. The top of the stele is framed by the outstretched wings of the deity Behdet. The scene is Egyptian in every respect and must have been executed by a trained Egyptian artisan (Rowe 1930: 25, pl. 41).

The "second" Beth Shan *Stele* of Seti I is badly broken and worn. Most of the relief scene has broken away entirely, and what little remains is very faint. The legs of a standing figure can be identified on the right side of the *Stele* (Rowe 1930: pls. 42–44).

The *Stele* of Ramesses II from Beth Shan portrays the god Amun-Re' and the king. Amun-Re' wears a double-plumed crown. He holds the *khepesh* sword in his right hand and the *was*-scepter in his left. The king's head bears a battle helmet with uraeus and plume. There is a bow in his left hand, and his right hand is raised toward Amun-Re' to receive the *khepesh*-sword from him. Across the top of the *Stele* are spread the wings of Behdet. Like the "first" Beth Shan *Stele* of Seti I, this *Stele* is completely Egyptian in inspiration and execution (Rowe 1930: 33, pl. 46).

The excavation of the level VII temple produced an uninscribed limestone *Stele* depicting two standing female figures. The larger figure wears an *atef* crown and holds an *'ankh* and a lotus scepter in either hand. The smaller figure offers a lotus blossom to the other (Rowe 1940: pl. XLIXA:1). There is nothing in the iconography of the larger figure to identify her with any particular Egyptian goddess; she probably represents one of the local goddesses. James and McGovern (1993: 240) have suggested that she may be the goddess Antit named on a *Stele* found in Lower Level V since the figures have the same iconography.

A broken basalt slab from the level VI temple may have been a *Stele*, although it is badly worn (Rowe 1940: pl. XXVIII:17). A frag-

ment of a limestone *Stele* came from a stratigraphically unclear context that could be as early as level VI, i.e. below level V locus 1522 (James 1966: 170–171, figs. 94:2, 95:2). The preserved fragment shows the lower portion of a seated figure before an offering table. Traces of another figure standing on the other side of the table can be detected. James (1966: 170–171) has suggested that since the scene is standard on New Kingdom mortuary *Stelae*, it is more likely to have been a mortuary *Stele* than a votive *Stele*. On the other hand, there are votive *Stelae* from Deir el-Medineh that closely resemble early Eighteenth Dynasty mortuary *Stelae*. They belonged to "a cult of certain deceased notables" and were engraved "with *wedjat*-eyes etc. in the arch, and with the revered person shown seated and smelling a lotus" (Stewart 1976: ix, pl. 36).

The four *kurkar Stelae* that were found in the cemetery at Deir el-Balah are clearly to be interpreted as funerary *Stelae* (Ventura 1987). They depict a seated or standing Osiris. On three of the *Stelae*, the deceased is shown worshiping Osiris and is identified by name. The three individuals are Amenemuia, Hapy, and Aapehty. On the fourth, there is no indication of the deceased in either the scene or the inscription, which consists only of the name of Osiris.

The *Stelae* vary in their shape. One *Stele* has a rounded top, two have broad triangular tops, and one has a narrow triangular top. From one-fifth to one-third of each *Stele* is undecorated at the bottom.

Ventura (1987: 113–114) suggests that these *Stelae* were free-standing monuments that substituted for the cult chapel of the typical Egyptian tomb. The triangular top represented the pyramid that often topped the cult chapel.

The two *Stelae* from the east bank of the Jordan are included here despite the fact that their dating is far from certain. Although they are frequently attributed to the thirteenth to twelfth centuries B.C.E., neither derives from a secure archaeological context. The stylistic criteria are insufficient to provide an exact date, since the Egyptian parallels extend over a long period. In seeking to establish a date for the *Stelae*, scholars have been forced to resort to historical arguments based on the Egyptianizing character of the pieces. The date assigned on this basis depends on a given scholar's perception of the degree of Egyptian control over the east bank and his or her assumptions about the political and cultural circumstances that would produce Egyptianizing artifacts (Ward and Martin 1964: 6–8).

The better preserved of the two *Stelae* is the one found at Balu'a,

a site on the south bank of the Arnon river approximately fifteen miles north of Kerak Ward and Martin 1964: 5 . Although Iron I pottery was found at the site by Crowfoot in the 1930s, recent excavations have not yet penetrated below the Iron II occupation Dearman 1992: 70 . The basalt *Stele* comprises both an inscription and a scene. The inscription is engraved on the upper portion of the *Stele*, in contrast with the normal Egyptian practice which placed the inscription below the scene. The scene see Figure 16 is carved in low relief. The backgrounds of the scene and the inscription are not at the same height. Rather than cut back the entire surface of the *Stele*, the artisan cut back only the area devoted to the relief, so that the upper portion bearing the text creates an overhang.

These peculiarities of the *Stele* have led scholars to question whether the text and the relief are contemporary. One possible explanation is that the text predates the relief scene and that the artisan was forced to adopt this solution in order to preserve the inscription. Since so little is known of artistic conventions in the east bank region, we cannot rule out the possibility that the choice was deliberate Ward and Martin 1964: 6-8 .

Compounding the problem is the fact that the inscription cannot be read. Scholars cannot even agree as to the script or language that is represented. Proposals have included proto-Byblian, Linear B, and Egyptian hieroglyphic Ward and Martin 1964: 6-8 .

The relief has proven more susceptible of analysis. Most of the elements of the scene, including the motif itself, are drawn from the Egyptian cultural sphere. The scene consists of three standing figures. On the basis of Egyptian parallels, they have been plausibly identified as a god, a ruler, and a goddess, reading from left to right Ward and Martin 1964: 14 .

The god wears a simple short kilt. On his head is the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Except for a band around the White Crown just below the knob and the malformed uraeus, it is drawn according to Egyptian conventions. The left hand of the god grasps the *was*-scepter. It is not clear what the right hand is doing. Drioton 1933 claims to have seen traces of an *'ankh*, which Ward and Martin 1964: 14 could neither confirm nor deny. The other possibility is that the *was*-scepter is held in both hands, an arrangement unknown in Egyptian art Ward and Martin 1964: 14 .

The ruler is attired in a long, pleated robe that constituted royal festal garb from the Amarna period on. His headdress is similar to

Figure 16
Stele from Balu'a Ward and Martin 1964: pl. 3 , no scale

that worn by foreigners in Egyptian reliefs from the reign of Seti I to Ramesses III; the closest parallels come from Medinet Habu. These foreigners may be Shasu, but the evidence is too limited and the problems of ethnic identification are too great to allow us to conclude that the ruler depicted in the Baluʿa *Stele* was a Shasu chieftain (Ward and Martin 1964: 14–15).

The goddess is clothed in a sheath dress and sash with trailing ends. Examples of goddesses wearing this outfit first appear in the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The dress is not accurately reproduced, however; the sash is drawn above rather than below the nipples. The crown on her head is that of Osiris. Although not worn by goddesses in Egypt, the Osiride crown was often associated with local Palestinian goddesses. In her right hand, the goddess holds a crudely drawn *ʿankh* (Ward and Martin 1964: 16).

There are two other elements in the scene—the crescent above the king's left shoulder and the orb and crescent above his right. Ward and Martin (1964: 16) have suggested that they are symbols that identified the two deities.

In Egypt, the meaning of such scenes is well established. They represented the king's reception of power and authority from the divine realm. The purpose of the scenes was not to record a coronation or other specific event but to remind the viewer of the intimate connection between kingship and the gods (Ward and Martin 1964: 17).

The meaning of the scene in its Palestinian context is less clear. Too little is known about that context to allow us to offer an interpretation. We know nothing about the concepts of kingship and the rituals that accompanied it in this region. It is possible that the *Stele* was erected on the occasion of a new ruler's ascension to the throne, as has been suggested (Zayadine 1987: 117). Without the ability to read the accompanying text, we can only speculate.

What can be stated with certainty is that the scene on the *Stele* is Egyptianizing. Egyptian and local elements have been combined by a local artisan to create a power iconography that draws upon the prestige of Egypt. The signs of a local sculptor's hands can be seen in the proportions of the human figures, which do not follow Egyptian artistic canons and in the identifying symbols above the king's shoulders. On the other hand, the majority of elements that compose the scene derive from Egyptian conventions.

Much less can be said about the Shihan *Stele*. The basalt *Stele* was

Figure 17
Stele from Shihan (Bienkowski 1992: fig. 7.2)

found in 1851 at Rujm al-ʿAbd, between Shihan and Dhiban. Since no excavations have been conducted at the site, there is little basis upon which to date it. In fact, as a surface find, it has no meaningful archaeological context. It is quite possible that the *Stele* was brought to the site from some other location.

The *Stele* is broken on all four sides (see Figure 17). The remaining piece measures 103 cm in height and 58 cm in width. It preserves the image of a figure brandishing a spear. He wears a short Egyptianizing kilt, like the one worn by the god in the Balu'a *Stele*. His hairstyle, with its long, curled pigtail, is typical of Syro-Palestinian gods of the Late Bronze Age. He is usually identified as a warrior god, particularly Baal (Amiet 1987: 108; Zayadine 1991: 37).

The frequently proposed date of thirteenth to twelfth centuries B.C.E. is probably more precise than the evidence can support. The dating depends, at least in part, on the association of this piece with the Balu'a *Stele*. Nevertheless, the two *Stelae* are not all that similar. The Shihan *Stele* is much less Egyptianizing than the Balu'a *Stele*; its only Egyptian feature is the kilt. In contrast, the scene on the Balu'a *Stele* is drawn from the corpus of Egyptian motifs, and the majority of its elements are also Egyptian. There is nothing in the Shihan *Stele* itself that would preclude a date as early as the fifteenth century B.C.E. In fact, the dates proposed by scholars range from the mid-third millennium to the eighth century.

Palestine:
  Balu'a (Ward and Martin 1964: pl. 3)
  Beth Shan Rowe 1930: pls. 41-44, 46; Rowe 1940: pls. XXVIII:17; XLIXA:1
  Deir el Balah Ventura 1987: pls. 8-9
  Rujm el-'Abd Bienkowski 1991: pl. 34; 1992: fig. 7.2

ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGI

Anthropoid Sarcophagi are cylindrical coffins on the lid of which a face and arms have been modeled in relief. Except for one example made of limestone, all the *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* from Palestine are ceramic. The coffin may be shaped to indicate the shoulders and/or feet. The lids are divided into two types: naturalistic and grotesque. The faces on naturalistic lids are defined by a clear outline and were often made as a separate piece and applied to the lid. On grotesque lids, the facial features were constructed on the lid by applying strips of clay, and the face is coterminus with the lid (Oren 1973: 132-135; T. Dothan 1982: 254-255).

The origins of the *Anthropoid Sarcophagus* can be traced to Twelfth Dynasty Egypt. Although mummy cases and coffins were originally restricted to elite class burials, in the New Kingdom *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* of inexpensive materials, such as wood and clay, were utilized by the lower classes. Published examples from Egypt derive primarily from the delta region and Nubia (T. Dothan 1982: 279-288).

Anthropoid Sarcophagi have been excavated at four sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine—Beth Shan, Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Far'a (S), and Lachish. In addition, a naturalistic coffin lid was found on the surface at Tell Midras near Beth Shan (Oren 1973: 140).

The nearly fifty *Sarcophagi* found in eleven tombs in the northern cemetery at Beth Shan were so badly smashed that only two could be reconstructed. Pieces of the *Sarcophagi* were scattered throughout the tombs, precluding the possibility of associating skeletons or funerary goods with individual coffins in most cases (Oren 1973: 132). This is especially unfortunate for our purposes since some of the tombs continued in use into the early eleventh century B.C.E. Nevertheless, the fact that two of the tombs, 60 and 241, did not contain any finds postdating LB II indicates that the use of *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* at Beth Shan began in the thirteenth century B.C.E. According to Oren (1973: 130), the evidence suggests that the bulk of the coffin burials should be assigned to the twelfth century B.C.E.

Both naturalistic and grotesque coffin lids were found at Beth Shan. T. Dothan (1982: 268-276) has argued that they can be separated into two chronologically distinct groups. According to Dothan, the grotesque lids are limited to eleventh century burials, whereas the naturalistic lids are found in burials as early as the thirteenth century.

The coffin burials at Deir el-Balah apparently predate those at Beth Shan by about a century (T. Dothan 1982: 254). Although approximately forty *Sarcophagi* are known to derive from Deir el-Balah, only four were unearthed in scientific excavations; the others were all dug up clandestinely. As at Beth Shan, the assemblage included both naturalistic and grotesque lids (T. Dothan 1982: 252-255). The Deir el-Balah cemetery produced the one stone *Sarcophagus* known from Palestine (Beit-Arieh 1985). Unfortunately, the lid of the coffin had been broken and the contents robbed before its excavation. Only fragments of the head end of the lid were found.

Three *Sarcophagi* were found in the tombs at Tell el-Far'a (S). The earliest of these tombs, 935, is dated to LB IIB. Unfortunately no lid was found in tomb 935. The other two *Sarcophagi* came from Philistine tombs 552 and 562. Both had lids of the grotesque type

(T. Dothan 1982: 260 268). Tomb 552 belongs to the very end of the period under consideration here since it contained phase 1 Philistine pottery. Tomb 562, however, contained phase 2 Philistine pottery and can be no earlier than the end of the twelfth century B.C.E. (T. Dothan 1982: 32).

Tomb 570 at Lachish, which dates to Iron IA, held two *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* (Tufnell 1958: pls. 45:1–3, 46). Both have lids of the naturalistic type (T. Dothan 1982: 276). Thick red paint was used to decorate one of the *Sarcophagi* in the style of an Egyptian coffin. The center panel bears a hieroglyphic inscription, and the side panels depict Isis and Nephthys mourning and holding lotus flowers (Tufnell 1958: 131–2). Both the inscription and the images are crudely drawn.

According to Stager (1995: 342), Klaus Baer and Edward Wente have recently confirmed Gardiner's initial reading of the inscription as an excerpt from the Egyptian Book of the Dead: "Thou givest water of the West to the majesty of your. . . ." However, Stager overstates the case when he asserts that "Gardiner recognized in the original publication . . . [that] the Lachish coffin text reads as a perfectly good Egyptian funerary inscription" (Stager 1995: 342). In fact, Gardiner's final judgment on the text, as reported in the original publication, is that

> this little hieroglyphic legend seems absolute gibberish as it stands. Was it the writing of a Palestinian scribe who knew a number of Egyptian words and strung them together to give the impression of a genuine hieroglyphic sentence? For example, no Egyptian would ever start on the left with a downward stroke for the water ripple sign (N. 35). . . . The last example on the coffin is as un-Egyptian as it could be (Tufnell 1958: 132).

Whether one accepts the reading of the inscription as a real, but poorly written, funerary text or maintains Gardiner's interpretation of it as pseudo-hieroglyphic gibberish, we can at least conclude that the coffin was not decorated by a properly trained Egyptian scribe.

The popular assumption that the Lachish *Sarcophagi* belonged to officers in an Egyptian garrison stationed at the site (Oren 1973: 140; T. Dothan 1982: 279) is not supported by the character of the inscription. A garrison-host would have been accompanied by a scribe to handle correspondence and record its activities. Surely a garrison-scribe would have taken the time and care to execute a more elegant inscription with properly drawn hieroglyphs, especially given the rit-

ual significance of the coffin and its text. Such a crude inscription is more likely to represent an imitation of Egyptian funerary practices than illiterate Egyptians.

Although *Anthropoid Sarcophagi* came to be associated with Philistine burials in Palestine, as demonstrated by tombs 552 and 562 at Tell el-Far'a (S), their introduction into the region clearly predates the Sea Peoples settlement. The earliest examples from Deir el-Balah are attributed to the late fourteenth century B.C.E., and from Tell el-Far'a (S) and Beth Shan to the thirteenth century.

Palestine:
  Beth Shan (Oren 1973)
  Deir el-Balah (T. Dothan 1982)
  Tell el-Far'a (S) (T. Dothan 1982)
  Lachish (Tufnell 1958: pls. 45:1 3, 46)

JEWELRY

Four types of Egyptian-style jewelry have been found in LB IIB-Iron IA strata in Palestine—*Rings, Bangle Bracelets, Plaques,* and *Headbands*.

Type 1: Rings

The Egyptian-style *Rings* from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine were made of faience (9 examples), stone (2), gold (5), or silver (1). Whereas the stone and metal *Rings* were all found in tombs, faience *Rings* were found in a variety of contexts.

The faience *Rings* are "stirrup-shaped"—rounded on the bottom and flat on top. This shape first appeared in Egypt during the early Eighteenth Dynasty and continued in popularity throughout the New Kingdom (Wilkinson 1971: 128–134). Although they could be made of various materials, faience was by far the most common (Brovarski, Doll and Freed 1982: 244, ills. 341–348).

Some of the Egyptian-style *Rings* bear hieroglyphic inscriptions. Two faience *Rings* from the level VII temple at Beth Shan are inscribed with the prenomen of Amenhotep III. A faience cartouche-shaped object also from the Beth Shan level VII temple may be the bezel of a *Ring*; it reads *r'-mss* for Ramesses I or II. A badly worn faience *Ring* from Lachish apparently bears the prenomen of Ramesses II. The lengthiest inscription appears on the faience *Ring* found near

the LB IIB "Residence" at Aphek. It reads: *imn-rˤ ꜥꜣ ḥsi dwꜣ nḏm nb* 'Amun-Re, abundant in every favor, praise, and joy' Giveon 1978: 190.

Egyptian symbols also appear on some of the *Rings*. Two faience *Rings*, one from the level VIII temple at Beth Shan and one from tomb 252 at Gezer, are in the form of a wadjet eye. A red jasper *Ring* from tomb 935 at Tell el-Farˤa (S) bears a double representation of the god Seth. The god Bes appears on two gold *Rings*, one from tomb 922 at Tell el-Farˤa (S) and one from tomb 118 at Deir el-Balaḥ. Three figures are engraved on the bezel of a gold *Ring* found in tomb 331 at Tell es-Saˤidiyeh (Tubb 1990: 40).

Three of the *Rings* are engraved with linear designs—a carnelian *Ring* from tomb 118 at Deir el-Balaḥ and two *Rings*, one of silver and one of faience, from tomb 934 at Tell el-Farˤa (S). A plain faience *Ring* came from tomb 252 at Gezer. Two gold scarab-mounts were also found in Deir el-Balaḥ tomb 118.

Palestine:
 Aphek Giveon 1978; Kochavi 1990: xiv, 30
 Ashdod M. Dothan, in press: fig. 12:17
 Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XXIX:5, XXXIX:12-13, 15
 Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1979: 85, ills. 216-219
 Tell el-Farˤa (S) Starkey and Harding 1932: 23, 25, pls. L:72, LI, LIII:190, 201A, 247
 Gezer Macalister 1912 I: 390, III: pl. CXXI:19
 Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 69, 71, pl. XXXII:5
 Tell es-Saˤidiyeh Tubb 1990: 40

Type 2: Bangle Bracelets

Fragments of perhaps 19 inscribed and 26 undecorated faience *Bangle Bracelets* were found in the Hathor temple at Timnaˤ. The inscribed *Bracelets* bear royal names, wishes for the king, and references to Hathor. The names of Seti I, Merneptah, Tawosret, Ramesses IV, and Ramesses V are attested (Rothenberg 1988: 121-125). A partially preserved cartouche could be the nomen of Ramesses II Rothenberg 1988: fig. 35:7.

A similar assemblage of *Bangle Bracelets* came from the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinai. It includes both inscribed *Bracelets* with cartouches and references to Hathor and narrow, undecorated *Bracelets* (Petrie 1906: 143, fig. 49).

Bangle Bracelets have a long history in Egypt. The earliest examples

came from predynastic burials, and they continued in use through the New Kingdom Brovarski, Doll and Freed 1982: 243, ill. 326.

Palestine:
 Timnaˤ Rothenberg 1990: 121-125, figs. 31:7-8, 34:1-3, 35:1-8, 36:1-6, 37:1-25, pls. 121:3-4, 122:1-8, 10-11, 125:2-3

Type 3: Plaques

An ivory *Plaque* bearing the cartouches of Merneptah was found in Macalister's excavations of Gezer. The *Plaque* consists of a half-circle of ivory carved on both sides and drilled just below the straight edge as if intended to be hung around the neck. On one side the king is depicted kneeling in adoration before the god Amun-Re, who is seated on a throne. The two figures are riding in a bark. On the reverse there is a simple pattern of radiating lines.

A somewhat similar scene is depicted on an early Eighteenth Dynasty pectoral of king Ahmose Vilímková 1969: fig. 22. On the Ahmose pectoral, there are three figures standing on the boat—the king, Amun, and Reˤ. The two deities pour water over the king, who stands between them.

Palestine:
 Gezer Macalister 1912 I: 15, II: 331, fig. 456

Type 4: Headband

A gold *Headband* decorated with incised zigzag lines was found in the Hathor temple at Timnaˤ. A similar *Headband* was found in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of the three princesses (Winlock 1948: pl. VII). Other examples from Egypt can be dated to the Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasties (Wilkinson 1971: 113-120, pls. XXXVIII-XLIII).

Palestine:
 Timnaˤ Rothenberg 1988: 211, fig. 84:132

PENDANTS

Pendants in a wide variety of shapes abound in the archaeological record of LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. Although the shapes range from geometric and hieroglyphic designs to representations of plants,

animals, human beings, and gods, pendants share the feature of a hole or loop by which they could be hung. In many studies and reports these objects are referred to as "amulets," a term that implies a religious or magical function. As McGovern 1985: 1 has rightly noted, that function is difficult to prove in most cases, due to a lack of documentation. Even if a particular pendant type can be shown to have served an amuletic function in a neighboring region where textual evidence is available, that does not prove that it served the same function in Palestine. The possibility of a local reinterpretation cannot be discounted. Therefore this study follows McGovern in utilizing the neutral term "pendant" for these objects.

The sheer number of pendants and pendant types precludes the possibility of incorporating a detailed analysis of LB IIB-Iron IA pendants in this study. Since the LB pendants were the subject of a thorough study (McGovern 1985) that distinguished between Egyptian-style and local types and indicated which types continued to be manufactured in the Iron Age, the discussion here will be limited to a summary of the findings in that study and a catalog of Egyptian-style pendants from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine.

McGovern 1985: 96 observes that although the absolute numbers of local-style pendants remained relatively constant throughout LB, Egyptian-style pendants were considerably more common in LB IIB, going from none in LB IA to 31 types in LB IIB. In the latter period, Egyptian-style pendants predominated and were fairly representative of the types of pendants found in contemporary Egypt.

> On the basis of the Amarna publications and Petrie's corpus (1914), approximately half to two-thirds of the New Kingdom Egyptian pendant types are documented in Late Bronze Palestine (McGovern 1985: 103).

The vast majority of LB IIB Egyptian-style pendants were found in temple contexts, and most were made of faience. The second most common context was burials. Less than ten percent of McGovern's corpus consisted of Egyptian-style pendants from residential strata (McGovern 1985: 96–100).

Two of the pendants in the LB IIB-Iron IA assemblage catalogued below bear inscriptions. A pendant from Beth Shan in the form of Isis and Horus is inscribed *dd mdw i n 3st wrt mwt-ntr di.<i> 'nh wd3 snb* "[words spoken b]y Isis, the lady, mother of the god: 'I give life, prosperity, and health'" (James 1966: fig. 109:5). A cartouche-shaped

pendant from Timna' reads *sty mr n pth* "Seti Merneptah," which could refer to either Seti I or II (Rothenberg 1988: 141, fig. 47:8).

Palestine:

Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XXXIII:7, 11, 13–15, 17, 20–33, 35–37, 39, 70, XXXIV:35–37, 40–46, 48–56, 59, 61–64, 67, 70–72, XXXIX:11; James 1966: figs. 101:1–5, 8–9, 109:5; Oren 1973: 128–129, figs. 41:13–16, 31–33, 42b:33–34, 49:13–16, 20–21, 50:18

Beth Shemesh Grant 1929: 102, 198, 203; 1932: 24, 28, 30–31, 33; 1934: 36, 48, 52, 56–57, 59, fig. 4; Grant and Wright 1938: pl. LIII:20, 26, 35

Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1979: 24, 43, 77–80, 84, ills. 49, 99–102, 176–179, 202–204

Tell el-Far'a (S) Starkey and Harding 1932: 24–25, 28, pls. XLVIII:33, L:76, LI, LVII:377, LXIV:64

Gezer Macalister 1912 I: 330, II: 331–332, III: pls. LXXXIV:30, CCX:1, 6, 10, 15, 19, 28, 76; Dever, ed., 1986: pl. 53:10, 56:1

Tell el-Hesi Bliss 1894: 80, fig. 158

Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 59–60, pls. XVI:4, XXI:46, 51–52, XXXVI:91–99, 102

Megiddo Guy 1938: 179, pls. 95:1–4, 27, 96:14, 100:18a–b, 165:13–15; Loud 1948: pl. 205:6–8, 10, 12–25

Tell es-Sa'idiyeh Tubb 1988: 41, fig. 17; 1990: 38

Tel Sera' Oren 1978: 1065

Timna' Rothenberg 1988: 139–141, 210–211, figs. 47:1–13, 48:1–12, 83:112, 84:119–123, 126, pls. 22–28, 118:1, color pl. 19:26–29

SCARABS AND SEALS

Scarabs, Stamp Seals, Cylinder Seals, Bullae, and *Impressed Jars* have been found in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine.

Type 1: Scarabs

The prototypical *Scarab* is an oval seal with an inscribed face and a back carved in the shape of a dung beetle. Occasionally the back is given another form, such as a baboon (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. L:98), a fish (Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. LV:281), or a wadjet eye (Tufnell 1958: pl. 38:313). Most of the *Scarabs* from the Levant are made of faience or steatite, which was often glazed, although other stones were also used, including carnelian, turquoise, lapis lazuli, serpentine, rock crystal, amethyst, and jasper.

Scarabs are ubiquitous in the archaeological record of LB IIB-Iron

IA Palestine. Although they are small and easily missed in excavation, especially if the dirt removed is not sifted, *Scarabs* have been found at almost every site of the period, often in large numbers. A full treatment of these *Scarabs* would require a separate monograph, but a few observations about the assemblage will be offered here.

A wide range of designs is attested on the face of the *Scarabs*. The most common designs are Egyptian deities, especially Amun-Re', Ptah, and Ma'at; animals, including bulls, lions, crocodiles, ibexes, hawks, and other birds; Egyptian hieroglyphs and symbols, such as *'nḫ* "life," *nb* "lord," *dd* "stability," uraei, dung beetles, and sphinxes; and geometric patterns. The face may depict a scene; the king smiting a foreign captive is not uncommon. Although these designs may be very elaborate, some *Scarabs* have a plain face.

Inscriptions also occur on *Scarabs*. A *Scarab* from Beth Shan depicting the king smiting a foreign captive bears the inscription: *nṯr nfr wsr-m3't-r' stp-n-r' ptpt h3swt* "the good god, Usermaatre Setepenre, who tramples the foreign lands" (James 1966: fig. 109:4). A *Scarab* from tomb 118 at Deir el-Balaḥ reads: *imy-r3 pr sš ib whm-'nḫib* "steward and scribe Ib, repeating life, Ib" (T. Dothan 1979: ill. 205). T. Dothan (1979: 84) has suggested that this *Scarab* is a late local copy of a Twelfth Dynasty *Scarab* and that it was not necessarily owned by the official named on it. She notes that the closest parallels to the inscription are dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, whereas the shape of the *Scarab* is not known before the Eighteenth Dynasty. The lengthiest inscription is that on the "Lion Hunt" *Scarab*, which was found in the Fosse Temple at Lachish. It records the lion hunting exploits of Amenhotep III (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 70–71, pl. XXXIIB:39).

Royal names were frequently inscribed on *Scarabs*. The names of eight Ramesside kings appear on *Scarabs* from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine: Ramesses I, Seti I, Ramesses II, Merneptah, Seti II, Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, and Ramesses VIII. The names of earlier kings occur as well. Thutmose III and Amenhotep III are the most common, appearing on 52 and 25 *Scarabs* respectively, but the names of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Hatshepsut, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Tutankhamen, Ay, and Horemheb are attested. There is even one *Scarab* bearing the name of the Twelfth Dynasty ruler Sesostris I. In addition to Hatshepsut, two other Eighteenth Dynasty royal women appear on *Scarabs*: Tiy, the wife of Amenhotep III, and Ankhesenamen, the daughter of Akhenaton and wife of Tutankhamen.

The following list indicates the sites at which *Scarabs* bearing the names of Ramesside kings were found. If more than one was found at a given site, the number is given in parentheses.

Ramesses I: Beth Shan, Beth Shemesh 2
Seti I: Beth Shemesh 2, Tell el-Far'a S
Ramesses II: Tell el-'Ajjul, Ashdod, Beth Shan 2, Beth Shemesh 4, Deir el-Balaḥ, Tell el-Far'a S 38, Gezer 3, Haruvit, Lachish 5, Megiddo 2, Tel Sera'
Merneptah: Tell el-Far'a S 2
Seti II: Tell el-Far'a S
Ramesses III: Ashdod, Beth Shan, Beth Shemesh, Tell el-Far'a S 4, Lachish, Megiddo, Timna'
Ramesses IV: Aphek, Tell el-Far'a S
Ramesses VIII: Tell el-Far'a S., Gezer

In addition, there are two *Scarabs* from Tell el-Far'a S that could be either Ramesses I or II.

Palestine:
Tell el-'Ajjul Petrie 1933: 4 5, pls. IV:125 126, VIII:4-5, X
Aphek Kochavi 1990: xxiii xiv, 23
Ashdod M. Dothan 1971: 40, pl. XIII:2; in press: figs. 18:9, 12, 38:4
Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XXXVI:13 24, XXXIX:1 5; James 1966: figs. 100:5–10, 15, 101:7, 109:4; Oren 1973: 125, fig. 51:11, 13 14, 16 18, 20 27, 29, 31; James and McGovern 1993: figs. 165 168
Beth Shemesh Grant 1932: 2, 29, 31, 33-34, pl. LI:1 5, 6 15, 17 28, 30 31, 35 36, 38 43; 1934: 36, 50, 52 53, fig. 3:4, 11 12, 14, 20
Deir 'Alla Franken 1964: pl. VIIIa
Deir el Balah T. Dothan 1979: 26, 44, 84 85, ills. 59 61, 109, 205-215
Tell el-Far'a (S) Petrie 1930: pl. XXII: 181–194; Starkey and Harding 1932: 23, 26, 28, pls. XLVIII:3 11, 14-16, 21, 23 28, 31, 35, XLIX, L:23, 39, 42 46, 48 55, 58 71, 74 75, 77-81, 85-91, 95 96, 98, 101 6, LII:113, 115 163, 165 180, LIII:183 189, 192 -198, 200 208, 214-218, 220 221, 223 238, 240-246, LV:250 265, 268 274, 281 -319, 321, 323 325, LVII:327 342, 344 356, 358-360, 362 376, 378 386, 388 -401, LXII:20 21A, 25 28
Gezer Macalister 1912 I: 390, II: 314, 322 325, III: pls. CXXI:15 18, CCIIa:9, 11, CCIIb:6, 7, CCIIIa:5, 8 10, CCIIIb:7 -8, CCIVa:4, CCIVb:10 15, CCVa:8-10, 13 14, CCVII:34 47, 49 50, CCVIII:1 13, 15 19; Dever, ed., 1986: 247 252, figs. 1:1 6, 2:1 6, pls. 1:1-6, 2:1 6, 52:2, 53:7, 56:6
Hazor Yadin et al. 1961: pls. CCLXXXIII:2 3, CCCXVIII:1; Yadin et al. 1989: 341-342, fig. 8
Haruvit Oren 1980: 31
Tell el-Hesi Bliss 1894: 80, figs. 118 122
Jaffa H. and J. Kaplan 1975: 540

Jemmeh Petrie 1928: 10, pl. XIX:6, 20, 31, 43
Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 69–71, pls. XXXII:4, 10, 14–15,
    19–20, 23–25, 35, XXXIIB:36–39; Tufnell 1958: 118–126, pls.
    34:140–162, 170, 174–199, 36:200–249, 38:250–294, 296–299, 301–313,
    39:339–362, 364–375, 379–391
Megiddo Guy 1938: 184–184, pls. 95:28–32, 96:13, 100:4–8, 119:11,
    131:1–14, 165:2–11; Loud 1948: pl. 152:169–190, 193–209
Tell es-Saʿidiyeh Pritchard 1980: 15–16, 19, 21–22, figs. 20:1–3, 21:18–23,
    23:9, 57:8–9, 58:7; Tubb 1988: 75, 79, fig. 51
Tel Seraʿ Oren 1982: 165–166; 1984b: fig. 7:7–8
Timnaʿ Rothenberg 1972: 105, pls. 46, 47; 1988: fig. 46:1–3, 5–8

Type 2: Stamp Seals

An object similar to the *Scarab* is the *Stamp Seal*. The *Stamp Seal* is oval
or rectangular in shape and is engraved on both faces with a design
or royal name. Like *Scarabs*, *Stamp Seals* are made of faience or stone,
especially steatite. The range of designs is similar to that attested for
Scarabs and includes Egyptian deities, animals, hieroglyphs, and geome-
tric designs. A *Stamp Seal* from tomb 116 at Deir el-Balah depicts on one
face an Egyptian king riding in a chariot with a figure, perhaps a
servant, in front of the horse; the other face shows three gods and is
inscribed with the name of Ramesses II (T. Dothan 1979: 44, ill. 110).

The royal names that appear on *Stamp Seals* are Thutmose III,
Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Ramesses II, and
Ramesses III. The distribution of the *Stamp Seals* with the names of
Ramesside kings is as follows:

Ramesses II: Deir el-Balah, Tell el-Farʿa (S) (3)
Ramesses III: Gezer

In two instances, the name of Thutmose III is paired with that of
a Ramesside king on the same *Stamp Seal*. A *Stamp Seal* from Tell
el-Farʿa (S) has Thutmose III on one side and Ramesses II on the
other (Starkey and Harding 1932: 24, pl. L:82). The names of
Ramesses III appear on a *Stamp Seal* from Gezer that also has the
prenomen of Thutmose III (Macalister 1912 I: 390, III: pl. CXXI:20).

Although *Stamp Seals* are not nearly as common as *Scarabs*, they
have been found at ten sites in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine.

Palestine:
   Tell el-ʿAjjul Petrie 1933: pls. IV:124, VIII:114
   Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pl. XXXVII:20; Oren 1973: fig. 51:15
   Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1979: 44, ill. 110; 1987: 131

Tell el-Farʿa (S) Starkey and Harding 1932: pls. XLVIII:17, 22; L:47, 82,
    97, LII:114, 164, LIII:209–212, 222, LV:277–280, 322, LVII:357
Gezer Macalister 1912 I:390, III: pls. CXXI:20, CCIIb:6a, CCVII:48,
    CCVIII:14
Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 69–71, pl. XXXII:9, 29, 34;
    Tufnell 1958: pl. 34:166, 168–173, 38:295, 314
Megiddo Guy 1938: pl. 165:1
Tell es Saʿidiyeh Pritchard 1980: 22, figs. 23:8, 58:6; Tubb 1988: 74, 76;
    1990: 40
Timnaʿ Rothenberg 1988: fig. 46:10–14

Type 3: Cylinder Seals

Cylinder Seals are cylinders that have been engraved all around so as
to produce a continuous, repeating image when rolled. The vast
majority of *Cylinder Seals* from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine reflect
Mesopotamian prototypes, but a small number of Egyptian-style
Cylinder Seals can be identified.

Two of the three published *Cylinder Seals* from tomb 419 Upper
at Tell el-ʿAjjul have Egyptian or Egyptianizing designs. A black
steatite *Seal* depicts two figures, one holding the *w3s*-scepter. They
are flanked by two ducks and two hares (Petrie 1933: 5, pl. VIII:6).
A broken *Cylinder Seal* of black limestone appears to have two crudely
drawn hieroglyphs, *nsw* and *mr* (Petrie 1933: 5, pl. VIII:8).

Although all of the *Cylinder Seals* from tell levels VIII–VI at Beth Shan
are of Mesopotamian type, a faience *Cylinder Seal* from tomb 7 is
inscribed with Egyptian symbols. An *ʿankh* and a *djed*-pillar are each
flanked by outward facing uraei (Oren 1973: 124–125, fig. 51:12).

A serpentine *Cylinder Seal* from the level V temple at Beth Shan de-
serves to be mentioned here despite the fact that it was found in a
context later than Iron IA. The *Seal* depicts an Egyptian king shooting
arrows into a target beneath which two captives have been bound. On
the other side of the target, a deity extends a scimitar in his right hand.
The king and god are identified by name as Ramesses II and Seth (Rowe
1940: pl. XXXVIII:3). The closest parallel to this scene appears on
a gold quiver fitting from the Valley of the Kings tomb 58. It por-
trays the Egyptian king Ay shooting at a copper target with two bound
enemies below (Touny and Wenig 1969: 40–42, 180–181, fig. 17).

Palestine:
   Tell el-ʿAjjul Petrie 1933: 5, pl. VIII:6, 8
   Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pl. XXXVIII:3; Oren 1973: fig. 51:12

Type 4: Seal Impressions

Two kinds of *Seal Impressions* are known from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine: *Bullae* and *Impressions* on fired pottery vessels. Whereas the former show a variety of designs, the latter are limited to royal names.

Type 4A: Bullae

A single *Bulla* was found at each of four sites: Tell el-ʿAjjul, Gezer, Lachish, and Tell es-Saʿidiyeh. The *Bulla* from Tell el-ʿAjjul bears the prenomen of Thutmose III alongside a giraffe standing on a *nb* sign with a *m3ʿt* feather behind him.

Palestine:

> *Tell el-ʿAjjul* Petrie 1932: 9, pl. VIII:116
> *Gezer* Dever, ed., 1986: pl. 55:15
> *Lachish* Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 70 71, pl. XXXII:30
> *Tell es-Saʿidiyeh* Tubb 1990: 27 28, fig. 11

Type 4B: Impressed Jars

Both Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty royal names appear on jars from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine. A jar handle from Tell el-Hesi is stamped with the name of Amenhotep II, and impressed sherds from the LB IIB palace at Tell el-ʿAjjul bear the paired cartouches of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. Seti II appears on pithoi from Tel el-Farʿa (S) and Haruvit.

Palestine:

> *Tell el-ʿAjjul* Petrie 1932: 9, pl. VIII:117
> *Tell el-Farʿa (S)* Starkey and Harding 1932: 28 29, pls. LXI, LXIV:74
> *Haruvit* Goldwasser 1980; Oren 1987: fig. 7
> *Tell el-Hesi* Bliss 1894: 89

TOILET OBJECTS

It is difficult to determine whether or not most of the objects in this category ought to be considered Egyptian-style. With few exceptions they lack distinctive features that could mark them as belonging to a particular cultural sphere. Their inclusion here points to the problems involved in separating international styles from local styles that have spread beyond their place of origin. Although *Kohl Sticks*, *Hairpins*, *Spindles*, and *Combs* have some claim to Egyptian origins or associations, they could also be considered to form part of the general Near Eastern material culture assemblage. *Mirrors*, on the other hand, are clearly an Egyptian-style object type.

Type 1: Kohl Sticks

Kohl Sticks are slender rods of metal or bone that were used to apply the cosmetic kohl. Of the six known from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine, only one bears any decoration; a bronze *Kohl Stick* from Hazor is grooved at one end and terminates in a four-petaled rosette.

Since it is not known how extensively kohl was utilized outside Egypt, the significance of these objects is difficult to assess. We simply do not know if they should be taken as an indicator of Egyptian influence or presence.

Palestine:

> *Beth Shan* Rowe 1940: pl. XXXI:48 49; James and McGovern 1993: fig. 149:1
> *Tell el-Farʿa (S)* Starkey and Harding 1932: pl. LIII:219
> *Hazor* Yadin et al. 1961: pl. CCLXXXIII:33
> *Tell el-Hesi* Bliss 1894: 80, fig. 151
> *Megiddo* Loud 1948: pl. 200:9

Type 2: Hairpins

Hairpins are decorated pins of ivory or bone, one end of which narrows to a point. Two are known from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine: an ivory *Hairpin* from Aphek and a bone *Hairpin* from Megiddo. Both bear an incised cross-hatch design that is datable to the New Kingdom (Vandier d'Abbadie 1972: 148 154). The Aphek *Hairpin* has one end carved in the form of a stylized duck head. The only close parallels are from Kamid el-Loz (Hachmann 1983: 90, 92); duck-headed *Hairpins* do not seem to have occurred in Egypt.

Palestine:

> *Aphek* Beck and Kochavi 1985: 32
> *Megiddo* Loud 1948: pl. 201:6

Type 3: Spindles

The use of the term *Spindle* to describe these objects should not be inferred to mean that their function is clear. The term, which appears frequently in the archaeological literature, is used here as a convenient reference in the absence of a better one.

These objects of indeterminate function are included in the category of toilet objects because of their formal similarity to *Hairpins*. Like *Hairpins*, *Spindles* are rods of ivory or bone and can be dated on the basis of the incised cross-hatch design that decorates most of them. Unlike *Hairpins*, they do not come to a point but are cylindrical and have a flat end. A pomegranate shaped terminal is often attached to one end.

The *Spindles* derive from three contexts—tombs, the Fosse Temple, and the Megiddo treasury.

Palestine:
  Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 62, pl. XX:23–25; Tufnell 1958: 87, pl. 28:7, 13–15
  Megiddo Guy 1938: pls. 95:49–50, 100:29–30; Loud 1939: pl. 56:296–298

Type 4: Combs

The *Combs* from LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine are made of bone or ivory. They are rectangular in shape and may have teeth on the top and bottom or just on the bottom. Although most bear a pattern of incised lines, three of the *Combs* from the Megiddo treasury depict animals.

With few exceptions, these *Combs* do not have good parallels in Egypt. Double *Combs*, with teeth on the top and bottom, do not seem to be known in Egypt before the Late Period (Vandier d'Abbadie 1972: 144–146). The designs found on some of the *Combs* with a single row of teeth are similarly unparalleled. Two of the *Combs* from Gezer tomb 59 (Macalister 1912 III: pl. LXXXIV:24) and the Megiddo treasury (Loud 1939: pl. 17:112)—have a running spiral design. A design of arcs and semicircles appears on the *Comb* from Beth Shan tomb 7 (Oren 1973: fig. 41:34). Neither of these designs occurs on *Combs* from Egypt (Bénédite 1911; Vandier d'Abbadie 1972). The only parallel for the square-ended *Comb* from the Fosse Temple at Lachish (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: pl. XX:29) came from Twelfth Dynasty Meir (Bénédite 1911: 8, #44320).

1

2
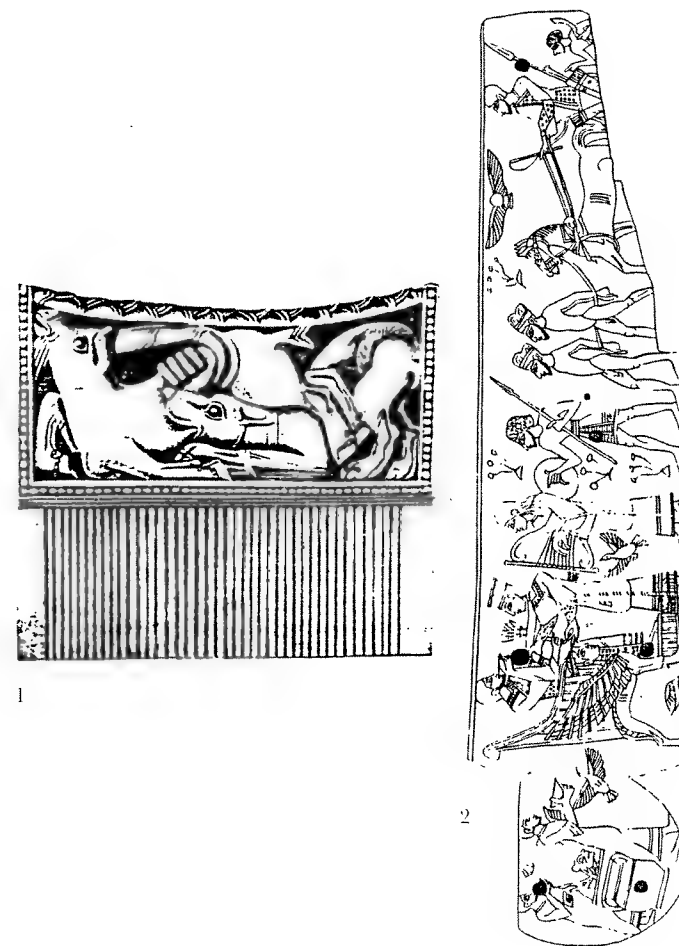
Figure 18
1: *Comb* from Megiddo (Loud 1939: pl. 16:e, 4:5
2: *Furniture Panel* from Megiddo (Loud 1939: pl. 4:2b, 3:5

Four of the Palestinian *Combs* can be matched to wooden *Combs* from New Kingdom Egypt. *Combs* with double incised lines at the top and bottom of the grip and a single row of teeth, like the ivory *Comb* from Beth Shan level VI (James 1966: fig. 101:29), are known from as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt (Vandier d'Abbadie 1972: 141–145). Three *Combs* of similar design but with three peaks along the top of the grip were found in tomb 46 at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Tubb 1988: fig. 48A:5–7). In Egypt such *Combs* usually have four peaks (Vandier d'Abbadie 1972: 141–145, #612, #617).

One of the Megiddo *Combs* bears a design that can best be described as Egyptianizing (see Figure 18). The scene depicts a dog attacking a gazelle. The legs of the gazelle are draped over the back of the dog who bites into the underside of its prey. The right paw of the dog rests on the back of the gazelle as if the dog were reaching around and holding the gazelle with its right foreleg. Although the motif of animal combat was very popular in the late Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, the arrangement of the bodies on the Megiddo *Comb* is completely non-Egyptian.[2] In examples from Egypt, the attacking animal is always shown in front of its prey with only minor exceptions. A portion of a leg of the prey may overlap the attacker, but never the entire hindquarters. If a major portion of one of the animals must be obscured by the other, it is always the prey that is behind the attacker (W. S. Smith 1960: fig. 87; Desroches-Noblecourt 1963: pl. XXIa; 1967: 110–117, #24; Brovarski, Doll and Freed 1982: ill. 237). Furthermore, on the Megiddo *Comb* the animals are shown out of proportion. For both the dog and the gazelle, the back half of the body is disproportionate to the front half; the hindquarters are much too small compared to the size of the head and forelegs.

Palestine:
Beth Shan James 1966: fig. 101:29; Oren 1973: 122, fig. 41:34
Deir ʿAlla Franken 1964: pl. VIIIb
Gezer Macalister 1912 I: 330, III: pl. LXXXIV:24
Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 62, pl. XX:29; Tufnell 1958: 87, pl. 28:16
Megiddo Guy 1938: pl. 166:22; Loud 1939: pls. 16:107–108, 17:110–112, 18:113–115; 1948: pl. 201:9
Tell es-Saʿidiyeh Tubb 1988: 75, fig. 48A:5–7

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[2] The author is indebted to Betsy Bryan for drawing this to her attention.

Type 5: *Mirrors*

Several Egyptian-style *Mirrors* have been found in LB IIB-Iron IA tombs in Palestine. They are round or elliptical bronze disks, each having a long tang to which the handle was attached.

In Egypt such *Mirrors* are dated to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (Bénédite 1907: pls. I:44003, IV:44017, V:44022, VI:19.508, VII:44030; Petrie 1927: 28–33, pls. XXIV–XXVIII).

Palestine:
Tell el-ʿAjjul Petrie 1933: pls. VII, IX:23
Aphek Kochavi 1990: xxiii–xxiv, 32
Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1979: 23, 72, ills. 43, 156
Tell es-Saʿidiyeh Pritchard 1980: 22, figs. 24:9, 59:5

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

For the distribution of these object types in Palestine, see Table 8.

Table 8
Distribution of Miscellaneous Objects

Sites/Types	1: Scepters	2: Maat Feathers	3: Furn. Panels	4: Door Bolts	5: Jar Stands	6: Tiles	7: Zoo. Stands	8: Model Thrones
Beth Shan				1			4	1
Lachish		1				1		
Megiddo			4					
Seraʿ	1							
Timnaʿ					6			

Type 1: *Scepters*

A bronze "socketed-staff, finishing in a loop in the form of the Egyptian scepter" was found in stratum IX at Tel Seraʿ (Oren 1978: 1065). Although no illustration has yet been published, the description suggests that it is a *ḥkȝt*-scepter. A gold and blue glass *Scepter* of this type was found in the tomb of Tutankhamen (H. Carter 1963: vol. I: pl. XXIII).

From the LB IIB shrine at Hazor came a fragmentary glass rod that the excavators interpreted as the handle of a *Scepter* (Yadin et al. 1958: 92, pls. XCII:17, CLVI:1). Although this interpretation is possible, too little of the object is preserved to be certain.

Palestine:
    Tel Sera‘ Oren 1978: 1065

Type 2: Ma‘at Feather

A gold-plated bronze object in the shape of a *Ma‘at Feather* was found at Lachish Tufnell 1958: pl. 40:392 . It had been wrapped in linen and buried at the base of the wall of a LB II house beside a large bronze bowl. The shape of the object, in the form of the Egyptian *m3‘t* hieroglyph, suggests an association with the goddess Ma‘at, but its function is unclear. The archaeological context of the *Ma‘at Feather*, being secondary, does not illumine its original function.

Palestine:
    Lachish Tufnell 1958: pl. 40:392

Type 3: Furniture Panels (Figure 18)

Included in the Megiddo treasury were a number of ivory *Furniture Panels* that exhibit Egyptianizing stylistic features Loud 1939: pls. 4, 7–8 . These ivories have been discussed most recently by B. Bryan 1996: 69 73 . Bryan argues that these ivories find their closest stylistic parallels in the Ramesside period and should be dated to the late thirteenth or twelfth centuries B.C.E.

The openwork plaques, which were intended to decorate a bed or chair, depict protective figures, including female sphinxes, the Egyptian god Bes, and a jackal figure. In Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt, the female sphinxes, as symbols of foreign guardians of Egypt, would have cradled royal cartouches in their hands. At Megiddo, the object they hold is uninscribed and only vaguely reminiscent of a cartouche. Bryan 1996: 72 73 suggests that the adaptation was intended to invoke the sphinx's guardianship on behalf of a local elite.

The solid panel portraying the presentation of captives to an enthroned ruler at a banquet exhibits an even greater indigenization of Egyptian motifs see Figure 18 . Bryan, following Marfoe 1990: 19 20 , has drawn attention to the non-Egyptian features that predominate. The motif itself is not Egyptian but Near Eastern in origin. In Egypt captives were presented to the god by the king, not to a banqueting king. Nonetheless, the figures are drawn and arranged according to the canons of Egyptian art, and the profiles of the people are distinctly Ramesside. Therefore this piece is best described as an Egyptianizing ivory of the late thirteenth-twelfth centuries B.C.E. Bryan 1996: 73 75 .

Palestine:
    Megiddo Loud 1939: pls. 4, 7 8

Type 4: Door Bolts

A bronze *Door Bolt* was found in the level VII temple at Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pl. XXXI:23 . Although Rowe associates the object with "the early form of the Egyptian hieroglyph for the name of the god Min," it is closer to that of an Egyptian *Door Bolt* Gardiner 1957: 496 .

Palestine:
    Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pl. XXXI:23

Type 5: Jar Stands

Six faience *Jar Stands* were found in the Hathor temple at Timna‘. Three of them were inscribed in black paint with royal names. One reads *wsr-m3‘t-r‘ mry-i/mn r‘-mss-ḥk3-iwn*, the names of Ramesses III. Another preserves *[. . .]m3‘t-r‘ stp-n[. . .]*, which allows of two possibilities: *wsr-m3‘t-r‘ stp-n-r‘* Ramesses II or *ḥk3 m3‘t-r‘ stp-n-imn* Ramesses IV . On the third, only the single hieroglyph *ms* remains, which could be any Ramesside king Rothenberg 1988: 127, figs. 31:4 6, 39:4, 6 7, pls. 119:3, 121:2 .

Palestine:
    Timna‘ Rothenberg 1988: figs. 31:4 6, 39:4, 6 7, pls. 119:3, 121:2

Type 6: Tiles

A faience *Tile* was found immediately below the plaster floor of room A in the LB IIB Fosse Temple at Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: 62, pl. XXII:54 . If it ever bore an inscription, no trace remains. A similar tile from a tenth century B.C.E. silo at Aphek, though badly faded, seems to bear the name of Ramesses II as well as a reference to Isis of Dendera Giveon 1978 . It was discussed in Chapter 2 in the section on the reign of Ramesses II.

In Egypt, *Tiles* of this type were often inscribed with appropriate texts and placed in foundation deposits Weinstein 1981 . The find

spot of the Lachish *Tile* suggests that it may have been intended as a foundation deposit.

Palestine:
    Aphek Giveon 1978
    Lachish Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: pl. XXII:54

Type 7: Zoomorphic Stands

Zoomorphic Stands have a slightly conical body and open base. The top is shaped like an animal head—pig, elephant, or bull. Four *Zoomorphic Stands* were found in the level VIII/VII LB IIB temple at Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XIX:2, XLIVA:1, 3, XLVIA:1 2; James and McGovern 1993: 175, fig. 94 .

    Zoomorphic Stands were excavated at several New Kingdom sites in Egypt, including Amarna Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933: pl. 54 , Deir el-Medineh Nagel 1938: fig. 109 , and Mit Rahineh Anthes 1959: fig. 12 . Since many of these objects have been blackened with soot, it has been suggested that they served as "fire-dogs" to support a large vessel over a fire Anthes 1959: 38 40 .

Palestine:
    Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XIX:2, XLIVA:1, 3, XLVIA:1 2; James and
      McGovern 1993: fig. 94

Type 8: Model Throne

A basalt *Model Throne* was found beneath the floor of the altar room of the level VIII/VII temple at Beth Shan. Although the shape of this object is Aegean rather than Egyptian, it is decorated with Egyptian symbols. On the back are carved a falcon with outstretched wings and talons and a *djed*-pillar with *'ankhs* suspended from its arms Rowe 1940: pls. XIX:13, XLVIIIA:1 4; James and McGovern 1993: 179, fig. 104:1 .

Palestine:
    Beth Shan Rowe 1940: pls. XIX:13, XLVIIIA:1 4; James and McGovern
      1993: 104:1

TYPOLOGY OF EGYPTIAN-STYLE ARCHITECTURE

INTRODUCTION

The study of Egyptian-style architecture in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine differs from the analysis of other categories of Egyptian-style material culture. On the one hand, the process may seem simpler, because some issues that were extremely important in other categories, such as the distinction between imported artifacts and local imitations, are simply not relevant. On the other hand, most of the artifacts to be discussed in this appendix are no longer available for examination. The buildings have either been left exposed to the elements or removed to expose lower strata. In either case, if information, such as brick sizes or foundation treatments, was not recorded by the excavators, it is irretrievably lost.

Nevertheless the process by which the material is presented does not differ radically from that employed in the other appendices. It will involve the development of a typology of Egyptian-style buildings on the basis of which the geographical distribution of the buildings and their intrasite locations can be discussed.

The typology presented below takes into account both the architectural plan and the construction techniques evident in the structures. Layout is the governing criterion for classification. The criterion of construction techniques is used to identify Egyptian style. At the beginning of the discussion of each type, Egyptian parallels for the architectural plan will be examined. Then as each individual building is described, the presence or absence of or lack of data concerning Egyptian construction techniques will be addressed. Construction techniques of recurrent concern include brick sizes, use of brick rather than stone foundations, and the lining of foundation trenches with sand.

The Egyptians employed different sizes of mudbricks for official and domestic structures. The official brick, which was about 40 cm long, was utilized for monumental buildings, and the domestic brick, which was usually 30 33 cm long, was used in the construction of houses. The width of the brick was, in either case, approximately one-half of its length Spencer 1979: 147 .

Foundations were not generally a matter of great concern in Egyptian architecture. Stone was rarely used in foundations, and even stone walls were sometimes provided with brick foundations. Typically, a brick wall was either laid directly on the leveled ground surface, or a shallow trench was dug and lined with sand (Spencer 1979: 120).

EGYPTIAN-STYLE ARCHITECTURAL TYPES IN LB IIB-IRON IA PALESTINE

There are four types of Egyptian-style buildings in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine: *Center Hall Houses*, *Three Room Houses*, *Administrative Buildings* and *Temples*. The first and last of these can be divided into subtypes.

Type 1: Center Hall Houses

Center Hall Houses are square structures the layout of which consists of a central room that is surrounded on three or four sides by smaller chambers. In the archaeological literature these buildings are often referred to as "Residencies."

The term "Residency" or "Governor's Residency" derives from W. M. F. Petrie's identification of a monumental building at Tell el-Far'a (S) as "the Egyptian Residency of a governor" (Petrie 1930: 17). The term has been extended to apply to other Palestinian buildings of similar plan or demonstrating some connection to the pharaonic administration of the region during the New Kingdom. In his study of this architectural type, E. Oren (1984b) examines structures from seven sites—Tel Sera', Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Hesi, Tell el-Far'a (S), Tel Masos, Beth Shan, and Aphek—and concludes that all but the last should be included in this classification on the basis of their plan and method of construction. According to Oren, these buildings share with New Kingdom Egyptian houses

> the overall architectural concept of a square building, built of brick without stone foundations, with a corner entrance and a central space around which small rooms are arranged, including an interior stairway (Oren 1984b: 52).

Other scholars have since suggested that buildings from Gezer and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh be added to the list of "Governor's Residencies."

The Center Hall Houses can be divided into two subtypes based on the shape of the central room: *Center Hall Houses with Square/Broad Main Room* and *Center Hall Houses with Long Main Room*. Other characteristics, such as the presence or absence of a vestibule and the arrangement of subsidiary rooms, are correlated with this feature. Each subtype also corresponds to a distinct Egyptian prototype.

Type 1A: Center Hall Houses with Square/Broad Main Room

The Center Hall House with Square/Broad Main Room was square and had a main room that was either square or broad, i.e. wider than it was deep. The main room was an interior hall, surrounded on all four sides by auxiliary chambers and usually featuring a single row of two to six pillars. A rectangular broad front hall separated the main room from the street. The entrance to the building could be in the center or corner of the front hall or through a side chamber to the front hall.

These buildings are closely related in plan to the elite-class houses excavated at Tell el-Amarna, our primary source for information about New Kingdom domestic architecture in Egypt. The main city of Amarna comprised hundreds of domiciles of all sizes, which are published exhaustively on 112 plates in *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna* (Borchardt and Ricke 1980). Although houses have also been excavated at Abydos (Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall 1904: 38, pl. LIII), Deir el-Ballas (Lacovara 1990: plans 3, 5), Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1934: pls. 3-4, 8-9, 10, 33; 1939: 68-71; 1951: 16-17; 1954: 4-5), and Deir el-Medineh (Bruyère 1939: 50-78, pls. XXIX, V, VI, VII), these sites are either limited to one size category of house, e.g. the Workmen's Village at Deir el-Medineh, or represented by only a few structures, e.g. Abydos and Deir el-Ballas. We are especially dependent on the evidence from Amarna for the plan of the New Kingdom house of the elite class of which few other examples are attested.

Under the heading "*Positive Zwischenlösungen*" Ricke (1932: 21-23) considers a number of houses at Amarna that parallel the *Central Hall House with Square/Broad Main Room*. These houses can be considered the residences of a second tier of elite, since they were not as large or complex in plan as the fully-developed *Amarna-Normalhaus*. Their basic blueprint consisted of a square building with a square

main room, surrounded on all four sides by a rectangular front hall,
an interior staircase, and side chambers. To this might be added a
corner entry room or vestibule leading into the rectangular front hall
by way of a side chamber (see Figure 19). The main entrance to
the building was always located in the front corner. In a very small
version of this plan, entry could be directly into a corner of the front

hall. Usually, however, the front hall was provided with one or more
side chambers, and one entered the house through one of them.

The plan consisted of three bands: the front hall, which was acces-
sible to the public; the main living room, which was buffered from
the street; and the private chambers at the back of the house. For
Ricke (1932: 17-19), this tripartite arrangement is constitutive of
domestic architecture at Amarna.

Figure 19
Center Hall House from Amarna (Borchardt and Ricke 1980: plan 30), 1:150
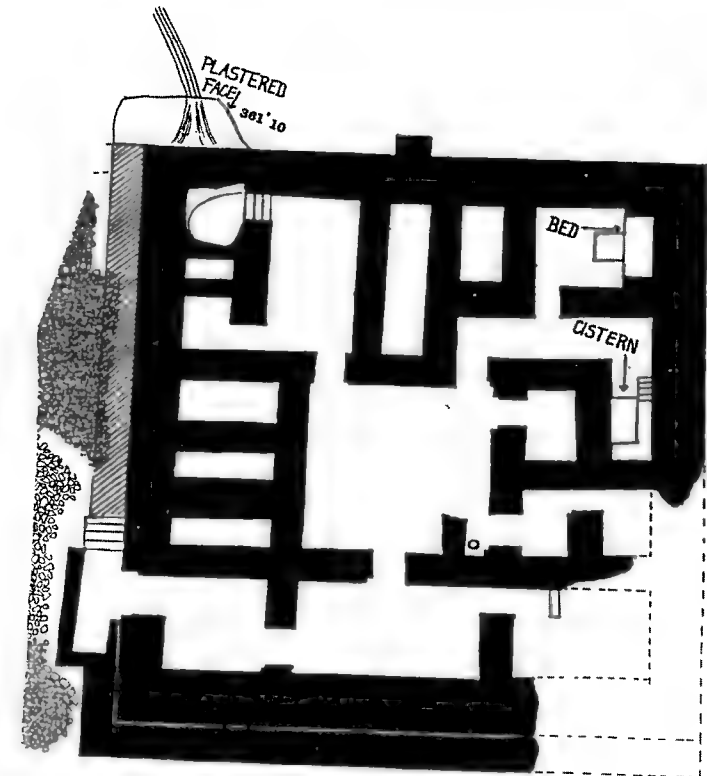
Figure 20
Center Hall House with Square, Broad Main Room from Tell el-Far'a (S) (Starkey and
Harding 1932: pl. LXIX), 1:250

The main differences between the *Central Hall House with Square/Broad Main Room* and these houses from Amarna are the arrangement of the pillars and the location of the entrance. At Amarna there were one or two rows of two pillars each; a single row of six pillars was not utilized. The placement of the entrance in a location other than the front corner of the building is a variation not attested at Amarna.

Tell el-Far'a (S)

Building YR (see Figure 20) at Tell el-Far'a (S) was partially excavated by Petrie (1930: 17) and identified as the official residence of the Egyptian governor in the region. Starkey and Harding completed the excavation of the structure and were able to determine the function of some of the rooms, including a bedchamber, bathing room and wine store (Macdonald, Starkey and Harding 1932: 27–30, pl. LXIX). The presence of large quantities of Phase 1 Philistine pottery on the floors of building YR and elsewhere in stratum Y allows us to date its construction to early in the twelfth century. Since a second phase of the structure contains Phase 2 Philistine wares, T. Dothan (1982: 27–29) has suggested that its destruction should be fixed early in the eleventh century.

E. Oren's dating of the construction of the *Center Hall House* to the late 13th century B.C.E. is probably too high. He arrives at this date by considering the pottery from stratum Z to be contemporary with the first phase of the *Center Hall House*. In fact, stratum Z predates the erection of this building and is cut into by its foundations. Petrie's (1930: pl. LII) presentation of the data is confusing; the spaces between the foundation walls are labelled ZA, ZB, etc., as if they were rooms. Yet the text clearly indicates that the lowest floors associated with these walls were encountered at 368'2" to 369'2", i.e. in stratum Y (Petrie 1930: 17). If an earlier phase of the building ever existed, the floors must have been destroyed. In any case, the pottery from the spaces between the foundation walls cannot be utilized to date the construction of the *Center Hall House*.

The plan of building YR closely parallels that of the houses at Amarna and would be at home in the Nile Valley. The entrance is in the southeast corner, up a short external staircase into a vestibule. The vestibule leads into a side chamber and from there into a rectangular broad front hall. A doorway in the center of the broad side of the front hall opens into the square main room. In the northwest corner is a bedchamber with raised niche. The room immedi-

0 1   5   10   15   20 m

0   10
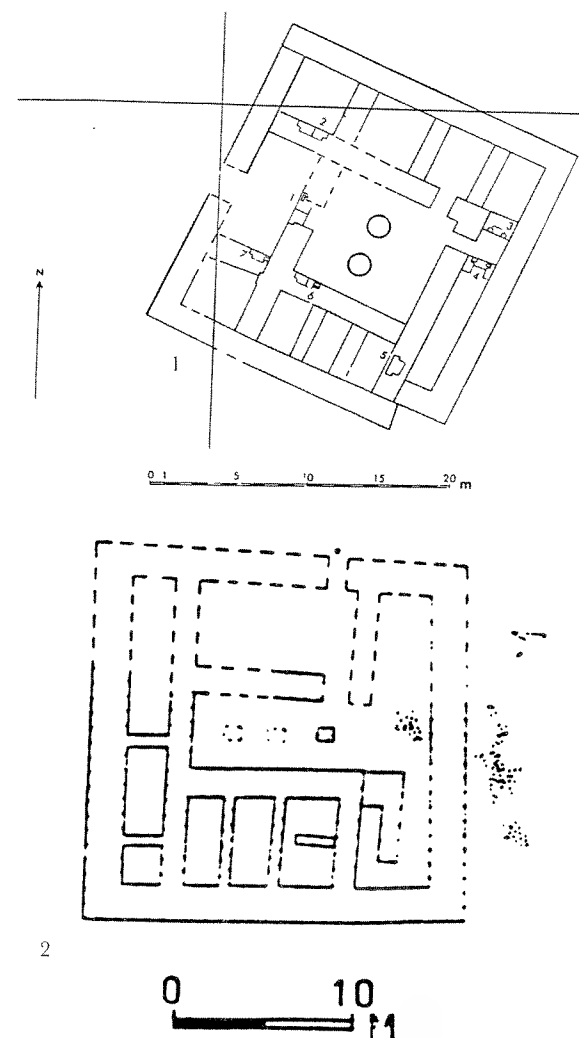
Figure 21

1: *Center Hall House with Square/Broad Main Room* from Beth Shan (James 1966: 9)
2: *Center Hall House with Square/Broad Main Room* from Tel Sera' (Oren 1984b: fig. 2)

ately to the east is a bathing room. A small chamber between the bathing room and the main room was found full of smashed wine jars, many with intact conical mud seals (Starkey and Harding 1932: 28). Neither the location of the staircase nor the function of the other side chambers could be determined, but the main room is clearly an interior room, being enclosed on all four sides.

The construction techniques also show Egyptian features. The foundations are of brick, sunk four to six feet deep. The plan of the foundations suggests that they were associated with a layer of sand, although this is not discussed in the text. Since no description beyond the single word "sand" is given, we cannot be sure that Petrie intended to indicate that the foundation trench was lined with sand. The bricks of the foundation measure 19 × 10 inches (ca. 47.5 × 25 cm), while the bricks of the walls measure 22 × 14 inches (ca. 55 × 35 cm). Neither of these brick sizes corresponds with the usual dimensions of bricks in New Kingdom Egypt.

Beth Shan

The identification of building 1500 (see Figure 21:1) at Beth Shan as an Egyptian-style structure has been widely accepted (James 1966: 161-163). The building, which was found in level VI (Iron IA), was constructed of mudbrick walls on stone foundations. The main room was almost square, measuring 8.8 × 8.2 m, and featured two stone column bases. The entrance was via a rectangular front hall which had antechambers on either end. The main room was enclosed on all sides by small chambers. The excavators did not report having found any trace of a staircase, but it is likely that one of these small chambers, perhaps one of the narrow chambers at the rear of the structure, supported a set of steps (FitzGerald 1932: 142-145).

Especially striking is the use of limestone architectural elements, including doorposts, jambs, T-shaped sills, and lintels, many of which were found *in situ* and some of which were inscribed in hieroglyphics (see chapter 2, above, for a discussion of the inscriptions). The use of such stone elements to frame doorways in brick buildings and the T-shape of the sills, in particular, are characteristic of Egyptian architecture (James 1966: 161).

The only way building 1500 differs in design from Amarna houses is the location of the entrance which appears to have been along the central axis, allowing a direct view from the street into the main hall. According to FitzGerald (1932: 142-143), the front hall showed signs of rebuilding, and the location of the entrance was inferred

from a break in the stone foundations directly opposite the doorway leading from the front hall into the main hall. The only other non-Egyptian feature of the building is the use of stone foundations.

Building 1700, which stood near building 1500 in stratum VI, has been reconstructed as reflecting the same basic plan (James 1966: 11-12). Although it is very poorly preserved, it did produce limestone doorframes similar to those found in building 1500.

James and McGovern 1993: 27-28 have proposed identifying a poorly preserved building in level VIII as a *Center Hall House*. The structure was rebuilt 5 m to the southeast in level VII. The level VIII building comprises loci 1288, 1290, 1292, 1297, 1301-1302, and 1308. The poor state of preservation of the building makes a definitive analysis difficult. The western limit of the building was not found by the excavators, and the dimensions of some of the loci are not reported. Nonetheless, the description provided by James and McGovern (1993: 42-47) suggests a structure measuring approximately 10 × 12 m. There is no indication where the entrance to the building lay. The rectangular main room (locus 1288) and the northwestern room (locus 1292) each had a single column in the center. Unusual features include a stone-lined clay basin measuring 2.8 × 1.6 m in the northwestern room and a semi-circular alcove in the southwestern room (locus 1297).

In level VII, the building comprises loci 1243 and 1245-1249 and is slightly smaller than the earlier structure. The entrance is in the northwest corner. The main room (locus 1247) is quite small (2.1 × 2.1 m) and lacks any columns. In fact, the largest room is not the one in the center but the one in the southwestern corner (locus 1245). The northern section of the adjacent room in the southeastern corner (locus 1243) has been divided into two small compartments (James and McGovern 1993: 28-31).

Tel Sera ͨ

Building 906 (stratum IX, Iron IA) at Tel Sera ͨ was constructed directly over building 2502 of the previous stratum with which it shared the same basic plan (see Figure 21:2). The building appears to have been square, measuring 22 × 22 m, although its western side has not yet been fully excavated, since it lies beneath a stratum VIII structure. The walls and foundations were constructed of mudbrick and laid in a foundation trench which was lined with sand and *kurkar*. The plan consists of a pillared main living room (4 × 9 m), enclosed on all sides by auxiliary chambers, including a rectangular

excavators, was in the entry hall, not a corner room, and permitted a direct view into the main living room. Finally, the placement of the one extant column base suggests that the main living room had three, rather than two or four, columns.

Tel Masos

Tel Masos (Khirbet el-Mšāš) is located in the eastern Negeb, between the cities of Beersheva and Arad. It was excavated by Y. Aharoni, V. Fritz, and A. Kempinski in 1972–1975 (Fritz and Kempinski 1983).

As the excavators themselves have noted, the plan of building 480 resembles that of an Amarna house, albeit with a few notable exceptions (see Figure 22). The building was roughly square, measuring approximately 14 × 15 m. It was constructed of mudbricks on a foundation that is partly of stone and partly of brick. The plan consisted of a pillared main living room, which, in its original phase, was almost square (6 × 7.5 m), enclosed by rooms on all sides. The entry hall was a rectangular room which was entered near its east corner and exited by a doorway in the center of its southwestern wall. The most significant change between the two phases of the structure was the widening of the back rooms at the expense of the main living room which was reduced to 4.5 × 7.5 m. Since the pillars were not repositioned, the room was divided asymmetrically into one-third and two-thirds units in the second phase instead of into halves (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: 61–64).

Two divergences from the Egyptian prototype are noteworthy. The first is the use of stone in the foundations. The second is the proliferation of pillars in the main living room. Instead of the expected two or four columns, arranged in rows of two each, room 480 was provided with a single row of six pillars. The excavators observe that this feature was characteristic of local architectural types, including the four-room house and the storehouse, and suggest that the building represents a hybridization of a foreign, probably Egyptian, model and a local type (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: 66–67).

Technically, building 480 does not fall within the purview of this study. Although the precise dating of the strata at Tel Masos is disputed, the foundation of building 480 in stratum IIB can not be earlier than the second half of the twelfth century B.C.E. (Iron IB), since the preceding stratum already contained Philistine ware (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: 230). It is included here for reasons of completeness and comparability to Oren's study of this architectural type.

Figure 22

Center Hall House with Square/Broad Main Room from Tel Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: plan 18)

entry hall and a staircase in the northeast corner (Oren 1984b: 39, fig. 2). Building 2502, while similar in layout, differs in having stone-paved floors and stone foundations (Oren 1978: 1066).

Despite its basic resemblance to the houses at Amarna, building 906 deviates in some respects. The main living room was apparently smaller than the entry hall. The entrance, as reconstructed by the

Type 1B: Center Hall Houses with Long Main Room

The *Center Hall House with Long Main Room* was square and had a main room that was long, i.e. deeper than it was wide. The entrance led directly into the main room; there was no front hall. On each side of the main room there was a single or double row of small chambers. The plan sometimes included a row of rooms across the back of the building.

At Medinet Habu a double row of Twentieth Dynasty dwellings was fitted into the space between the inner enclosure wall and the great girdle wall see Figure 23 . The houses in the outer row resemble the *Center Hall House with Long Main Room*. The entrance opened into a long hall which was surrounded on three sides by small chambers: one at the back, three on one side, and six on the other side.
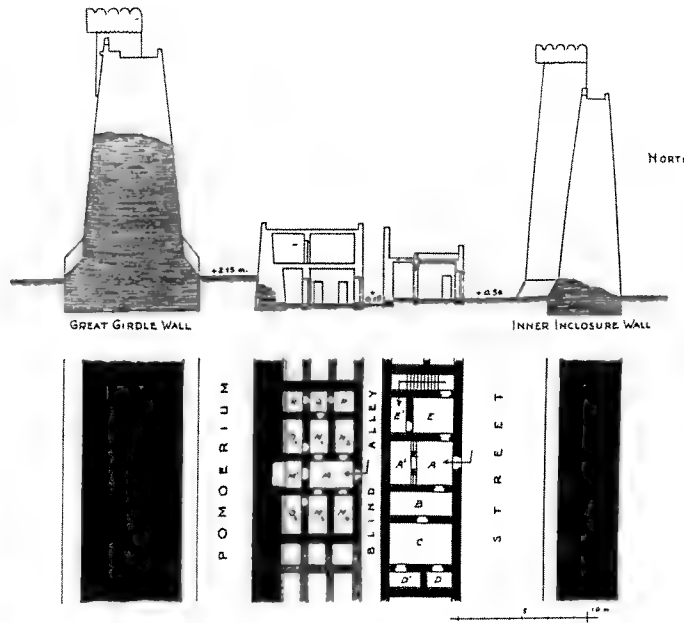
Figure 23

Twentieth Dynasty Houses from Medinet Habu Holscher 1951: fig. 15
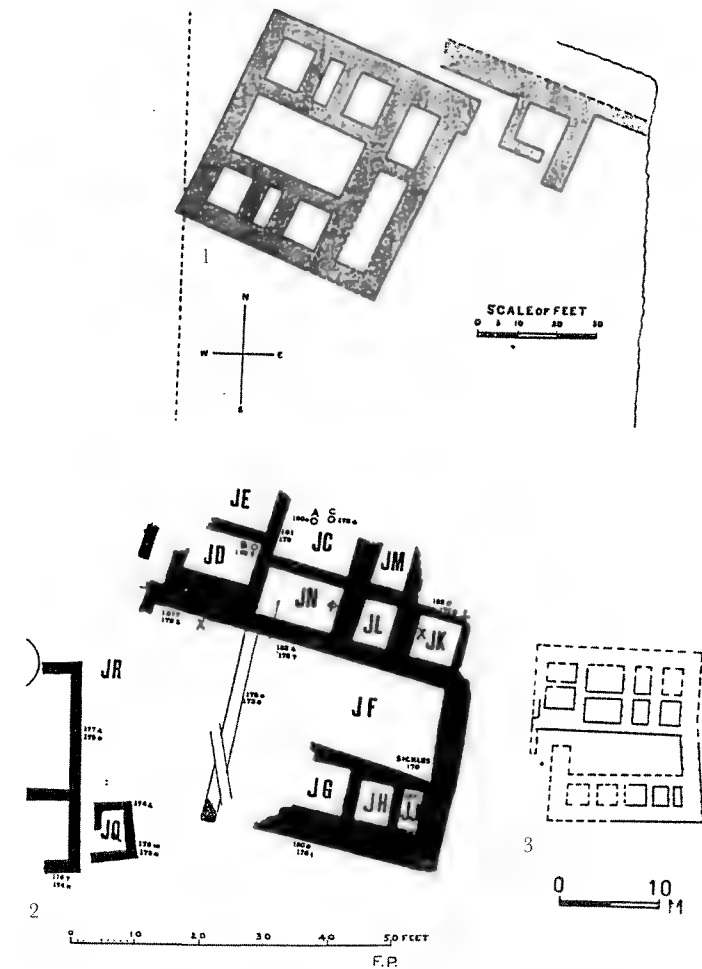
Figure 24

1: *Center Hall House with Long Main Room* from Tell el-Hesi Bliss 1894: 72
2 3: *Center Hall Houses with Long Main Room* from Tell Jemmeh Petrie 1928: pl. VI; Oren 1984b: fig. 2

Tell el-Hesi

In Tell el-Hesi City IV (LB IIB), Bliss found a 56-foot square building with a largely symmetrical plan (see Figure 24:1). Only the mudbrick foundations were preserved, below the level of the doorsills. It is not, therefore, possible to reconstruct the location of the entrance to the structure. The largest "central" room measured 30 × 15 feet. On either side of this room was a row of three chambers, creating a symmetrical plan. Across the back, or front, of the building were two rooms of differing size. Underneath the foundations was a half-inch thick layer of yellow sand. Brick sizes were not published (Bliss 1894: 71-74).

The plan of the City IV building is quite similar to that of the Medinet Habu houses. The main room was a long rectangle, enclosed on three sides. Oren has reconstructed the entrance to the building on the west side, leading directly into the main living room, and labelled the chambers on the east side "narrow store-rooms" (Oren 1984b: 46, fig. 2).

Tell Jemmeh

Oren (1984b: 46) suggests that building JF at Tell Jemmeh should be classified as a "Residency" (see Figure 24:2-3). The building was constructed of plastered mudbrick with a single course of undressed limestone blocks serving as foundations for the corners. The bricks themselves measured 22.0 × 13.5 × 8.5 inches and 21.0 × 15.5 × 4.5 inches.

The plan of the building was only partially preserved. Petrie reports the identification of 11 chambers, the largest of which was JF, by which the entire structure is known. JF appears to be a rectangular room stretching along the north-south axis. To the east of JF, Petrie identifies a row of 3 small chambers (JG, JH, and JJ). West of JF, there was a double row of rooms (JC, JD, JE, JK, JL, JM, and JN). Only the northeast corner of the building was extant (Petrie 1928: pl. VI). Oren reconstructs a 15 × 15 m square structure with a 4 × 12 m "central courtyard" at the south end of which was located the main entrance. The "east wing" comprised 5 small chambers, and the "west wing" a symmetrical double row containing 4 chambers each (Oren 1984b: 46, fig. 2).

The building as reconstructed by Oren is reminiscent of the outer ring of houses at Medinet Habu and the *Center Hall House* at Tell el-Hesi. The only major divergence is the lack of a chamber or chambers across the back of the building such that the main room of the Tell Jemmeh *Center Hall House* was enclosed on only two sides, not three.

Suggestive as this may be, Oren's reconstruction is not without difficulties. It is not at all certain that the building was square in plan or that room JF stretched the entire length of the building. The entire southeastern quarter of the building is unpreserved, and no trace of the outer wall on the west side was found. It seems likely that the structure was at least 15 m wide, but it could have been considerably wider. The only absolute limit on the south is the remains of building JR, which, if it derives from the same phase, indicates that the eastern wall was no more than approximately 15 m long. Furthermore, there is no *a priori* reason to locate the entrance on the south side of the structure. Since interior doorways were not noted, and little of the outer walls was preserved, in principle, the entrance could have been anywhere.

Given the uncertainty of the reconstruction it is perhaps best to conclude that Building JF at Tell Jemmeh *probably* belongs to the subtype of *Center Hall Houses with Long Main Room*. The remains are simply too scanty to allow a definitive classification.

Other Buildings Proposed to be "Residencies"

Buildings at three other sites, Aphek, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and Gezer, have been termed "Governor's Residencies" in recent publications. They are not included in the preceding typology for a variety of reasons. The Aphek structure belongs to our type 3 and is discussed in the appropriate section below. A judgment on the building from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh is suspended, pending publication of more data. On the other hand, classification of the buildings at Gezer as "Residencies," i.e. *Center Hall Houses*, is rejected.

Tell es-Sa'idiyeh

Stratum XII in Areas AA and EE of the upper tell at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh has been assigned a preliminary date of Iron IA by the excavators (Tubb 1988: 41). In both areas, monumental buildings utilizing Egyptian construction techniques have been found. The building in area AA has been termed a "Residency" and the one in area EE a "Palace." Both have deep mudbrick foundations, bricks
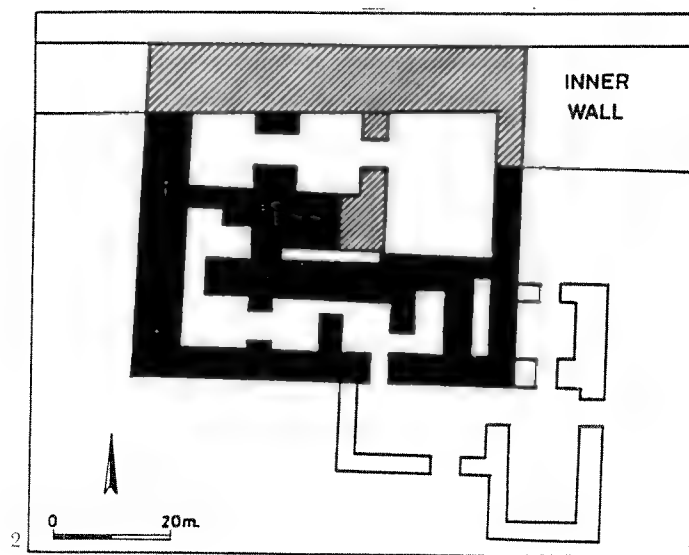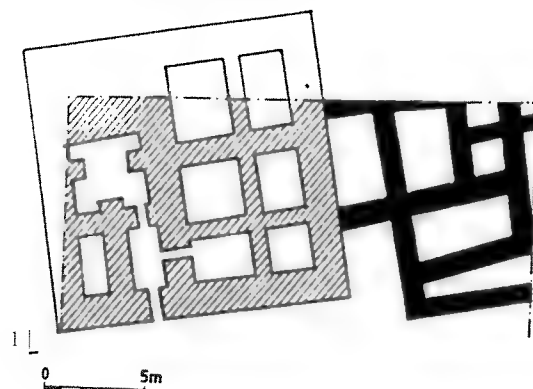
Figure 25

1: Proposed *Center Hall House* from Gezer Bunimovitz 1988 1989: fig. 3
2: Proposed *Center Hall House* from Gezer Singer 1986 1987: fig. 2

measuring 44 × 23 × 11 cm, and a drainage channel in the exterior wall Tubb 1990: 26 . In fact, both structures appear to be part of the same architectural complex. Since the complex is still under excavation and since no plan of the "Residency" has yet been published, the buildings can not be definitively classified as to type. It is possible that the building in area AA does belong to this type, although it is difficult to identify the characteristic elements in the published photograph Tubb 1988: fig. 15 .

Gezer

The strategic importance of Gezer and the references to its capture by Merneptah in Egyptian sources have led scholars to conclude that the site ought to have had a "Residency" during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Dynasties.

> During the Late Bronze Age Gezer was probably the most important city-kingdom in southern Canaan, commanding a vital crossroad of the "Via Maris" and the main road leading up from the northern Shephelah to the hill country. The conquest of Gezer plays an important role in Merneptah's campaign to Canaan in the fifth year of his reign 1207 B.C.E. . . . . It stands to reason that like in the case of Ashkelon, which after its conquest was turned into an Egyptian stronghold a permanent Egyptian presence was also maintained at Gezer Singer 1986 1987: 26 .

The underlying logic is that if other sites, such as Tell el-Far'a 'S and Tel Sera', rated a resident governor, then one would have been posted at Gezer and it ought to be possible to identify his "Residency" in the archaeological remains of the city.

Singer 1986 1987: 27 30, figs. 1 2 proposes that Macalister's "Canaanite Castle" represents the governor's "Residency" see Figure 25:2 . Singer points to the building's "squarish plan, the solid walls that carried an upper storey, the corner entrance . . . and the long narrow corridor at the entrance" Singer 1986 1987: 29 . In fact, the "Canaanite Castle" bears scant resemblance to a *Center Hall House*. It is true that the structure was square and had thick walls, but these features are not exclusive to *Center Hall Houses* and are not sufficient for classification. The entrance was not in the corner, but slightly off the center axis. The building had neither a square/broad interior main room nor a long main room. Furthermore, the date of the "Canaanite Castle" is much debated Bunimovitz 1988 1989: 68 70; Maeir 1988 1989 .
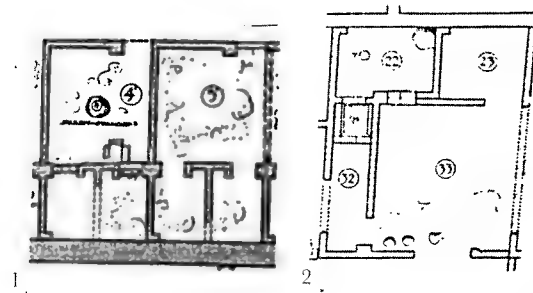
Figure 26

1: *Three Room Houses* from Amarna Borchardt and Ricke 1980: plan 76 , 1:150
2: *Three Room House* with staircase from Amarna Borchardt and Ricke 1980: plan 27 , 1:150
3: *Three Room House* from Beth Shan Rowe 1930: fig. 2

Bunimovitz 1988 1989: 72 74, figs. 2 3 proposes instead that a brick building from Macalister's stratum IIIa trenches 27 28 be considered a "Residency" see Figure 25:1 . As reconstructed by Bunimovitz, it was a square structure with thick walls. The interior space was divided into at least eight small square or rectangular chambers and one room with three buttresses. This building also lacks the constituent features of a *Center Hall House*. It did not have the interior main room and broad front hall of the *Center Hall House with Square/Broad Main Room* or the long main room fronting on the street of the *Center Hall House with Long Main Room*.

Type 2: Three Room Houses

The layout of the *Three Room House* consisted of a square main room in the front of the house and two small chambers at the back. The *Three Room House* could be provided with an interior staircase.

Ricke 1932: 13–15 identifies the *Three Room House* as the simplest or most basic house plan at Amarna. As in Palestine, it consisted of a main living room (*Hauptwohnraum* , roughly square in shape, and two smaller chambers at the back of the house. One entered directly into the main room and from there into either of the back chambers see Figure 26:1 . There were also several examples of *Three Room Houses* with interior staircases (see Figure 26:2, at Amarna (see, for example, Borchardt and Ricke 1980: *Hauspläne* 7:Q46.9a, 19:N473c, and 27:P47.1b .

Beth Shan

Beth Shan is the only site in LB IIB-Iron IA Palestine at which *Three Room Houses* have been excavated. According to James and McGovern 1993: 27 the level VIII/VII residential quarter contained both *Three Room Houses* and *Center Hall Houses*. The interspersing of the two types is said to be similar to that found at Deir el-Medineh and Amarna. Unfortunately James and McGovern do not specify which rooms belong together as *Three Room Houses*. Loci 1257 and 1260 1261 probably form a single domestic unit, although locus 1260 is undoubtedly a courtyard rather than an interior room given its size about 6 × 6.5 m and the presence of a *tabun* James and McGovern 1993: 33 34, map 1 . The individual rooms lining the west side of street 1250 could be paired together as the back rooms of *Three Room Houses*, but without any evidence of what lay further west that would

be mere speculation. Therefore a decision about whether or not the southwestern residential quarter contained *Three Room Houses* must be suspended until more evidence is available.

James and McGovern 1993: 53–56 also suggest that the "Commandant's Residence" from level VII LB IIB at Beth Shan was a form of the New Kingdom Egyptian house. The building consisted of four rooms: two of approximately equal dimensions; a slightly larger, rectangular room; and one very long, very narrow chamber see Figure 26:3'. The largest room contained a mudbrick installation which the excavators interpreted as a lavatory. The doorways were not preserved, so it is not possible to determine where the main entrance to the building lay. Rowe 1929: 63 65 reconstructs it in the southwest corner at the western end of the narrow chamber, but this room is exceptionally narrow for a front hall, and resembles more closely the framework for a staircase. There is a narrow break in the outer wall of the northeastern chamber which is the only visible candidate for the entrance. The building was constructed of mudbrick, the dimensions of which are not published, on stone foundations. There is no mention of sand in the excavation reports.

The plan of the "Commandant's Residence" resembles the *Three Room House* with interior staircase. There are, nevertheless, significant deviations from the Egyptian design. The wall separating the two eastern chambers is not straight, but is Z-shaped. Furthermore, if the installation in the largest room served for bathing and/or toilet purposes, the presence of such facilities in so small a house would be quite unusual by Egyptian standards. In the *Three Room House*, the largest room normally served as the main living space and was the most accessible to the public. We would expect to find the entrance to the house via that room. If the doorway was located there, no trace of it remains. Finally, the use of stone foundations is distinctly non-Egyptian.

It should be emphasized that the "Commandant's Residence" in no way represents an Egyptian elite-class domicile. The *Three Room House* was utilized for the living quarters of the humblest workers, not high-ranking officials. Persons of status in Egypt would have rated a *Center Hall House* at the very least.

The interpretation of the building as a residence is also open to question. The unusual installation that almost filled the main room, the thick walls, and the proximity to a large silo suggest that the building might have served an industrial, rather than domestic, function.
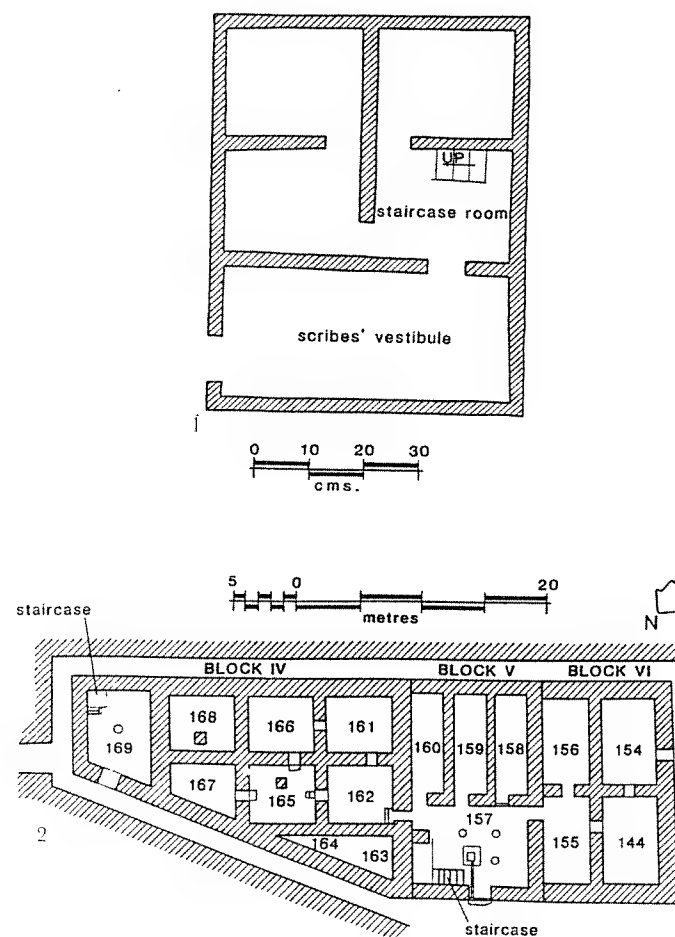
Figure 27

1: *Model Granary from Tomb of Meketra, Thebes.* Kemp 1986: fig. 1
2: *Middle Kingdom Granary from Uronarti.* Kemp 1986: fig. 3

Type 3: Administrative Buildings

The structures which are termed here *Administrative Buildings* go by a variety of names in the scholarly literature: palace, fort, *migdol*, even governor's residency. They were square buildings with small symmetrically arranged chambers and a staircase. Most featured buttresses or corner towers. The details of the internal layout varied, but in those cases in which the location of the entrance could be determined, the staircase was accessible from the entrance hall. Two of the buildings had a broad entrance hall with adjoining staircase chamber to the right and parallel rows of square and long chambers arranged behind the vestibule and stairs.

It is not clear whether these *Administrative Buildings* are actually of Egyptian derivation. They have some characteristics of Egyptian architecture, such as buttresses, corner towers, square plan, and construction techniques like brick foundations, sand beneath the foundations, etc. On the other hand, no close parallels for these structures can be cited in New Kingdom Egypt or Nubia.

Oren and Shershevsky 1989: 15-18 have pointed out that, while these buildings are often described as Egyptian *migdol*-forts, they differ markedly from New Kingdom forts in the Nile Valley and North Sinai. The forts in Nubia and North Sinai were truly monumental affairs with very thick walls and massive gates and buttresses. The average size of Nubian forts was 18,000 m². Even the smaller fortified structures in the two regions, such as Shalfak and Kumma in Nubia and Bir el-Abd and Haruvit in North Sinai covered about 2500 m². The *Administrative Buildings* were built on a much smaller scale, about 350 m², more on the order of the *Center Hall Houses*. Because of the thinness of their walls and buttresses, Oren and Shershevsky 1989: 18 deny that the *Administrative Buildings* served a primarily military function, proposing instead administrative roles, such as police and customs.

Evidence from a much earlier period suggests that Oren and Shershevsky may have been on the right track. B. J. Kemp 1986 was able to identify a certain Middle Kingdom architectural type as a granary. The model granary from the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of Meketra in Thebes exhibits a plan which can be recognized in the excavated Middle Kingdom sites. It consists of a rectangular scribe's vestibule, an adjoining staircase room, and interconnecting square storage chambers see Figure 27:1 . Kemp has identified such granaries

PLAN OF MIGDOL, RESIDENCE, ETC.- CITY-LEVEL VII.
(AMENOPHIS III.)
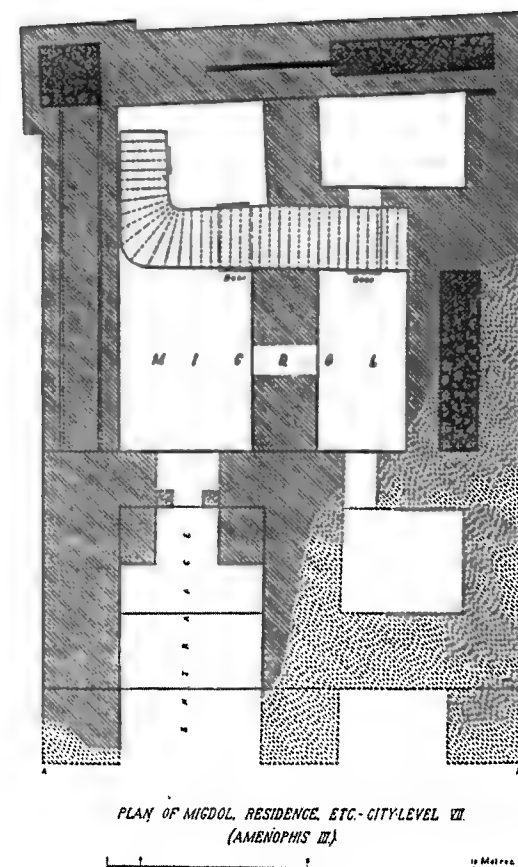
Figure 28

Administrative Building from Beth Shan Rowe 1930: fig. 2

in the domestic complexes at Kahun and in the second cataract forts of Kumma, Shalfak, Uronarti, Mirgissa and Askut. The strongest corroborating evidence comes from Uronarti where sealings inscribed "granary of the fortress of Khesef-iuntiu" i.e. Uronarti were found in the granary building see Figure 27:2 . Another structure from the opposite end of the Uronarti fortress with rectangular rather than

square rooms Dunham 1967: map III is an even closer parallel to
the LB IIB-Iron IA Palestinian buildings.

Most of the storage facilities known from the Nile Valley during
the New Kingdom were designed on a much grander scale, but the
same basic elements of scribe's vestibule, adjoining staircase, and
interconnecting storage chambers are still recognizable. The preferred
shape of the storage rooms, at least for the storage of commodities
other than grain, was clearly rectangular, much longer than it was
wide Badawy 1968: 128 147.

The comparative evidence is too meager to permit any firm con-
clusion about the origin or function of these structures in LB IIB-
Iron IA Palestine. On the other hand, it seems likely that they were
influenced by Egyptian architectural traditions and that they had an
administrative function, perhaps the collection of taxes or trade goods,
especially grain, wine, and oil.

Beth Shan

Next to the "Commandant's Residence" in level VII LB IIB, a rec-
tangular building was found that the excavators termed a *migdol* see
Figure 28. It measured 15.5 × 23.5 m, and the average thickness
of the outer walls was 2.5 m. The interior plan consisted of five
rooms and a staircase. The entrance to the building was recessed,
passing between two towers or pilasters. The southwestern corner of
the building was not preserved, but the excavators reconstructed a
third tower or pilaster in that corner, creating a symmetrical facade
Rowe 1929: 53 56, fig. 85; 1930: 21, fig. 2.

This building is part of the material restudied by James and
McGovern 1993: 56 58. Their work suggests that Rowe's recon-
struction is hypothetical at best and that the extant pilasters do not
belong to the original plan of the building. On this basis Oren and
Shershevsky 1989: 14 conclude that the original structure had a
recessed entrance, but no pilasters or towers. Its dimensions were
16.3 × 13.5 m.

The *Administrative Building* was built of mudbricks measuring 1.1 ×
0.5 × 0.2 m on basalt foundations. The walls contained interior hol-
low cavities and slots filled with wood and stones. Although the scale
and careful construction of the building suggest a special function,
the finds do not contribute to its identification. The pottery assem-
blage was comparable to the assemblages from residential contexts
James and McGovern 1993: 58.
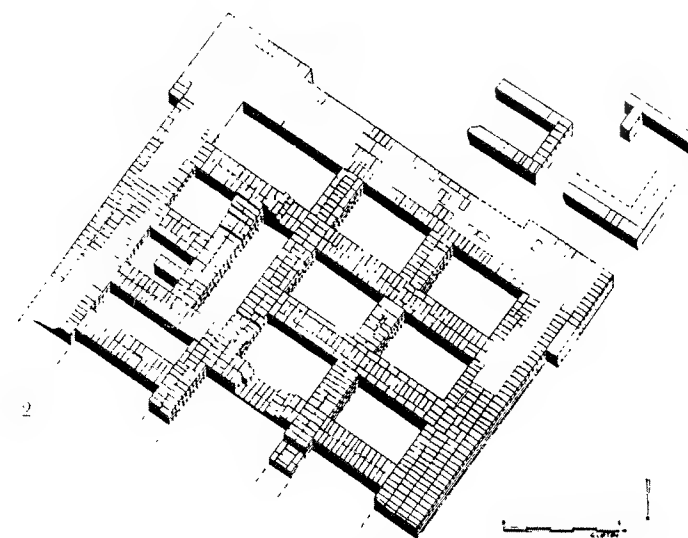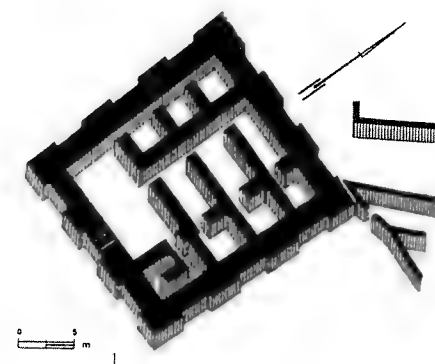
Figure 29

1: *Administrative Building* from Tel Mor M. Dothan 1975b: 888
2: *Administrative Building* from Deir el-Balah T. Dothan 1981: fig. 1

Deir el-Balah

The architectural remains of Stratum VII (LB IIB) at Deir el-Balah were limited to a single structure that the excavators called a "fortress" (see Figure 29:2). Only the 1 m high foundations were preserved. The foundation walls were 2.4 m wide and were built of mudbricks measuring 50–60 × 30 × 10–12 cm. Along the bottom of the foundation trench there was a layer of sand. The overall dimensions of the building were 20 × 20 m. Its plan was composed of 14 rooms, including a staircase. A tower was located in each of the four corners (T. Dothan 1985: 40).

Since only the foundations were preserved, it is not possible to determine the location of the entrance to the building or of the doorways between rooms. There are no close parallels for its plan from the Nile Valley to assist in interpreting its layout or function.

Tel Mor

In LB IIB (Strata VIII–VII) a square "citadel" was located at Tel Mor (see Figure 29:1). Constructed of mudbricks, the outer walls were 2.5 m thick and 23 m long. They were reinforced by a series of external buttresses (M. Dothan 1960: 124). The entrance to the building led to a broad chamber with an adjoining staircase in the southwest corner. Along the east side of the structure, north of the entrance hall, was a row of three small chambers. On the west side, was a corresponding row of long, narrow chambers, each divided by a partition wall into rooms of unequal size (M. Dothan 1975b: 888).

This layout is reminiscent of the plan of a building inside the Middle Kingdom fort at Uronarti mentioned above. The latter had a broad entrance hall with a staircase and four small and three long, narrow chambers. The only significant difference is in the orientation of the long chambers which were perpendicular to the entrance hall (Dunham 1967: map III). At Tel Mor the long chambers were parallel to the entrance hall.

Above the ruins of the strata VIII–VII *Administrative Building*, a smaller building was constructed. The *migdol*, as it was termed by the excavator, measured 11 × 11 m and had 4 m thick walls. The lower story was comprised of two rooms; a ramp led to an upper story (M. Dothan 1975b: 890). Since no plan of the *migdol* has been published, it is difficult to compare it to other structures. However, the published descriptions suggest that it is not related to the *Administrative Buildings* and lacks any particularly Egyptian features.

Aphek

Excavations on the acropolis (Area X) at Aphek exposed a monumental building in local stratum 12 (LB IIB). This building is identified variously as building 1104, palace VI, and the Governor's Residence (see Figure 30). The foundations and the walls of the ground floor were constructed of stone; the walls of the upper story/stories were of brick construction which collapsed when the building was destroyed. The 1.4 m thick stone walls were preserved to a height of 2 m. The plan of the building consisted of an entrance hall with a double doorway, a staircase which adjoined the entrance hall to the west, two small chambers on the east side of the building, and two long, narrow storerooms on the west side. Storage jars of local type were found in both of the storerooms. Kochavi has argued that building
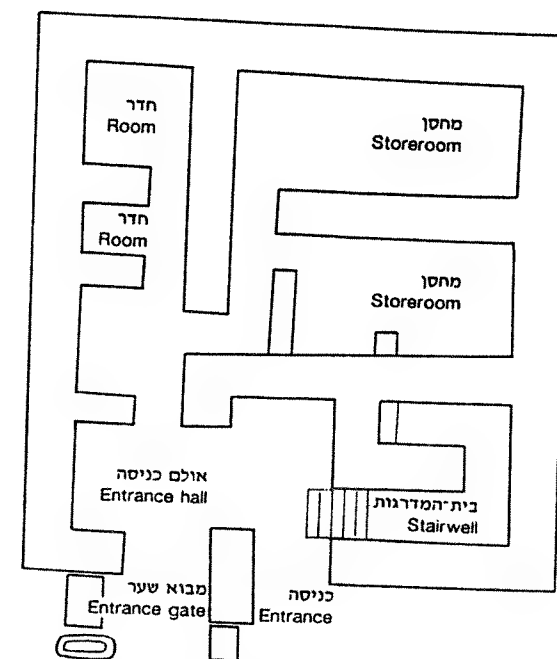
Figure 30

Administrative Building from Aphek (Kochavi 1990: 12; no scale)

1104 should be classified as "Residency" because of "its isolation, equilateral side, thick walls, side entrance, long storerooms and square cells on the ground floor, and the staircase in the corner" Kochavi 1990: xii .

In fact, the building lacks many, if not most, of the constitutive features of a *Center Hall House*. Not only the foundations, but the walls, were constructed of stone. There is no indication of a tripartite plan and no main living room, square, broad, or long. Furthermore, the rooms do not appear to have been used for domestic purposes, but rather for storage and administrative functions. Therefore, the structure can not be classified as belonging to type 1.

The closest parallel to the plan of this structure, if not to its method of construction, is the *Administrative Building* at Tel Mor. Although the Aphek building was smaller than the one at Tel Mor and comprised fewer rooms, the basic layout was quite similar. In both one entered into a broad room. A staircase was located in a corner of the building accessible from the side of the entrance hall. Through the back of the hall a doorway led to a series of long and short chambers.

Type 4: Temples

There are two kinds of cultic architecture in LB IIB–Iron IA Palestine for which Egyptian antecedents have been proposed: *Hathor Temples* and *Temples with Raised Holy-of-Holies*. Two examples of each are extant outside of Egypt. *Hathor Temples* were erected at Serabit el-Khadem and Timnaʿ, Egyptian mining sites in the Sinai and the Wadi ʿArabah, respectively. *Temples with Raised Holy-of-Holies* were found at Beth Shan and Lachish. The two subtypes are distinguished not only by the nature of the site at which they were found, mining installation rather than city, but also by the deities worshiped. At the former, it is quite clear that an Egyptian deity Hathor was the primary object of worship, whereas at the latter, the evidence suggests that local deities were revered Wimmer 1990: 1072, 1080 .

The resources available for studying these structures is relatively abundant. Religious architecture has drawn considerable attention in recent years. T. Busink 1970 , M. Ottoson 1980 , and A. Mazar 1992 have all described the development of cultic architecture in Palestine. A. Bomann's 1991 study of the Egyptian private chapel, to which the *Temple with Raised Holy of Holies* has been compared,

facilitates the examination of that subtype. S. Wimmer 1990 has drawn together all of the data, archaeological and textual, relating to the question of Egyptian cult in Palestine.

Type 4A: Hathor Temples

As Wimmer 1990: 1070 has aptly noted, the *Hathor Temple* was in essence a "rock-shrine." One of its defining features is the shallow cave in the face of a cliff against which the chapel was constructed. Other features include a two-columned portico or *naos* and an outer court.

Only the *Hathor Temple* at Timnaʿ falls within the purview of this study. The one at Serabit el-Khadem lies outside Palestine proper, although it testifies to Egyptian activity in Asia during the New Kingdom. It is also significant for comparative purposes as another example of an Egyptian mining temple.

Unlike the Timnaʿ shrine, the *Hathor Temple* at Serabit el-Khadem had a long and complex architectural history see Wimmer 1990: 1060–1068 for a summary of the scholarly discussion and relevant bibliography . A series of architectural elements led to two rock-shrines, caves T and U. "Each cave had an ante-room and an entrance-court in front S,R;V,W " Wimmer 1990: 1067 . The parallel between the Timnaʿ chapel and the shrine of cave U is especially close, as Wimmer 1990: 1070 has recognized, since the latter had a portico with two columns.

Timnaʿ

The excavators identified five strata at Site 200, the location of the *Hathor Temple*. The earliest consisted of a brief occupation during the Chalcolithic-EB I period. No subsequent use of the site was identified before the erection of the first phase of the *Hathor Temple* in the early thirteenth century B.C.E. stratum IV . Few details of the stratum IV structure, attributed to Seti I on the basis of inscriptional evidence, survived its destruction and the rebuilding of the chapel in stratum III. The second phase of the shrine apparently originated in the reign of Ramesses II and continued in use through the reign of Ramesses V. It is from this stratum that most of the information about the *Hathor Temple* is derived. A phase of local occupation, stratum II, was discerned, immediately following the cessation of Egyptian mining activities in the region in the late twelfth century B.C.E. In
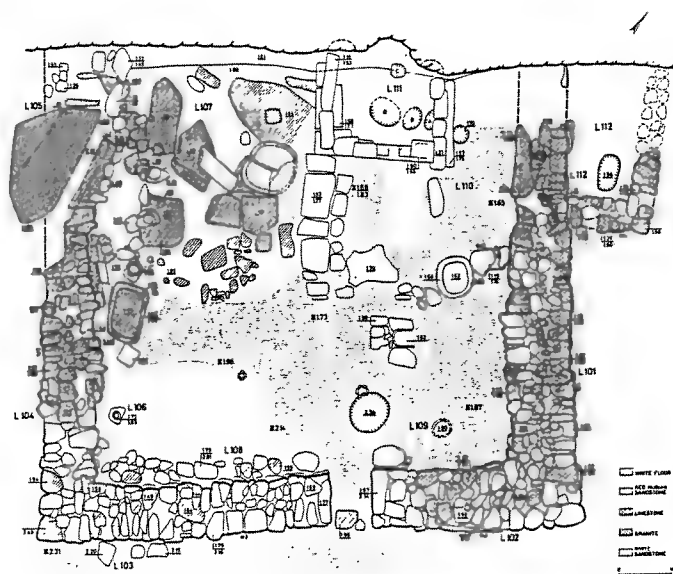
Figure 31

Hathor Temple from Timna' (Rothenberg 1988: ill. 6)

stratum II many architectural elements of the earlier *Hathor Temple* were reused in secondary context, disturbing the plan of the stratum IV–III structure. Further disturbance can be attributed to the brief Roman occupation of the site, which included the digging of robber trenches (Rothenberg 1988: 270–278).

Stratum III represents the primary phase of the Timna' *Hathor Temple* and produced most of the small finds, including numerous Egyptian-style objects. With the exception of disturbed contexts, it could be easily identified stratigraphically.

> The dominant horizontal feature of Stratum III was the White Floor, made of crushed white sandstone some pieces still showed traces of masonry, apparently laid after a thorough levelling operation. The White Floor was stratigraphically related to most of the still preserved *sic* architectural features though some of them were altered by the occupants of Stratum II. In fact, it could be established in the excavations that most of the Hathor Temple of Stratum III was actually built simultaneously with the laying of the White Floor Rothenberg 1988: 273.

No comparable stratigraphic feature was identified for stratum IV, rendering the identification and stratigraphic analysis of that phase much more difficult Rothenberg 1988: 275.

The stratum IV–III shrine was not quite rectangular in shape because the cliff face was not precisely parallel to the front wall see Figure 31. The three constructed walls of the outer court were built at right angles to one another, leaving the east wall slightly shorter than the west wall. The dimensions of the outer court of the stratum III chapel were approximately 9.5 10 × 8.5 9 m, slightly broader than it was deep Rothenberg 1988: ill. 6. There is evidence that the stratum IV court was less deep Rothenberg 1988: 274.

The central feature of the shrine was the *naos* of which two courses of stone were preserved. The stratigraphic history of this structure is extremely complicated. The excavators discerned at least three phases of construction. The square pillar bases which are aligned with niches in the cliff face are associated with the first stratum IV phase of the chapel. The remaining stones of the foundation layer are in secondary context, suggesting that they belong to the second stratum III phase. The second course consists of an entirely different style of masonry and belongs either to a rebuilding within stratum III or to stratum II Rothenberg 1988: 81 83. The dimensions of the stratum III *naos* are approximately 2.5 × 1.5 2 m Rothenberg 1988: ill. 6.

As was the case with the outer court, the *naos* was built against the cliff face. Three niches were cut into the face of the cliff within the area defined by the *naos* walls. The largest niche was in the center of the *naos* and was originally a rectangular feature measuring about 1.5 × 0.5 m. It presumably contained the cult statue or stele. Two smaller niches were carved into the rock directly above the foundations of the side walls. They were placed 1.8 m above the top of the foundation and measured 0.65 × 0.45 m. Since they are aligned with the square pillar bases in the east front corners of the *naos*, it is assumed that they supported large architraves Rothenberg 1988: 75 76.

A. R. Schulman 1988: 114 115 reconstructs the *naos* as an Egyptian *k3ri* shrine. Utilizing displaced architectural fragments, he envisions a walled structure with a cavetto cornice and curved roof. The two square pillars without capitals stood on the square pillar bases in the eastern corners of the *naos* and supported the eastern ends of a pair of architraves and the two ends of the lintel. Additional support for the lintel was provided by a pair of pillars with Hathor

capitals which served as door jambs. All four of the pillars are extant, although none of them was found *in situ*. Two fragments of a cavetto cornice with torus molding, belonging to the architraves and/or the lintel, were found immediately to the west of the *naos* in locus 107.

> Although no recognisable fragments of the roof were found, it is clear that it must have had the characteristic curve normally found on the roofs of *naoi*, which the Timna inner sanctuary appears to have been: a large *naos*-shrine of the *k3ri* type. That the side and front walls were solid from ground-level to roof, seems clear from the fragment of inscribed relief Cat. 1 where, although the scene itself is illegible, the presence of a pair of vertical cartouches show that it came from high up on the wall, since they would have been written either in front of or behind the king's head Schulman 1988: 115.

Schulman believes that the prenomen of Ramesses II should be read, although the name is only partially preserved Schulman 1988: 115 116.

In front of the *naos* lay a *pro-naos* of approximately the same dimensions as the *naos* Schulman 1988: 115. It consisted of a "pavement" of "flat, white, roughly dressed sandstone" Rothenberg 1988: 72. Roman intrusions destroyed much of the *pro-naos* Rothenberg 1988: 74.

The *Hathor Temple* at Timna' was in every respect an Egyptian cultic installation. Not only were the plan and architectural elements of Egyptian style, but the deity worshiped was indisputably the Egyptian goddess Hathor Wimmer 1990: 1069.

Type 4B: Temples with Raised Holy-of-Holies

The *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies* is one of the cultic architectural types identified by A. Mazar 1992: 173-177. It is characterized by a tripartite plan consisting of an entrance room, main hall or *cella*, and raised holy-of-holies or *naos* reached by a staircase. The layout of the *cella* included a pair of columns in the center and benches along the walls.

That this plan closely resembles that of the private chapels at Amarna was first noted by A. Rowe 1930: 19. Since that time the excavations at Deir el-Medineh and the renewed excavations at Amarna have added to the number of private chapels known from Egypt. The buildings exhibit a consistent tripartite plan composed of a forecourt, one or two halls lined with benches, and a sanctuary (see Figures 32-33. Features that were not uncommon include

marl

nile mud
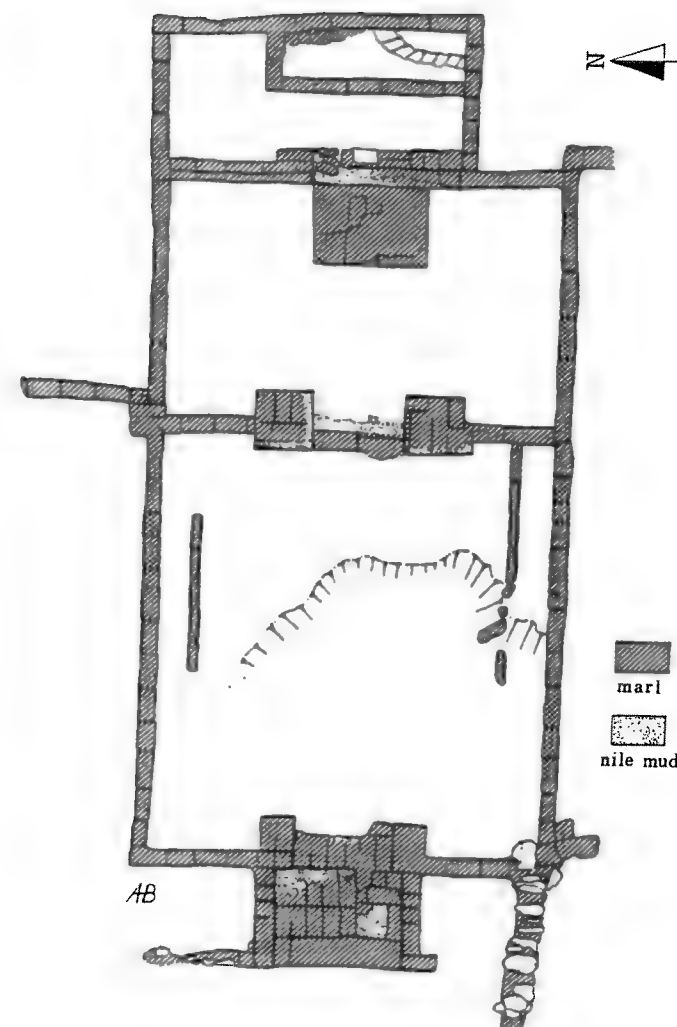
Figure 32

Private Chapel from Amarna Bomann 1991: 10
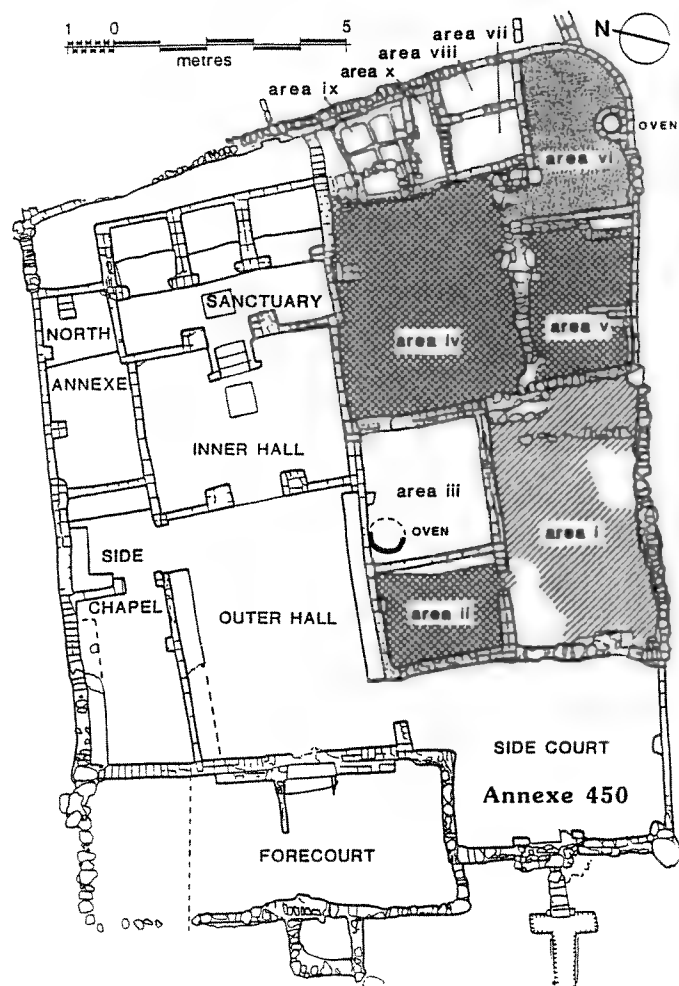
Figure 33

Private Chapel from Amarna. Bomann 1991: 6
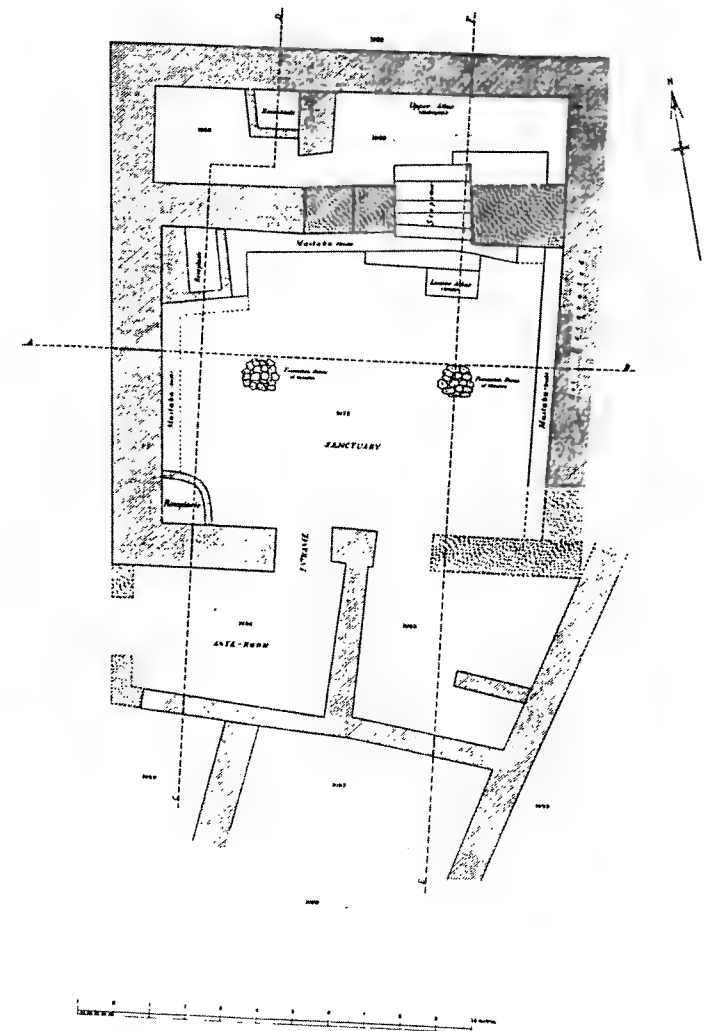
Figure 34

Temple with Raised Holy of Holies from Beth Shan Level VII. Rowe 1940: pl. VI

columns in the halls and a short staircase leading up to the sanctuary. The elements were normally arranged symmetrically along a longitudinal axis (Bomann 1991: 81).

While the similarities in the plans have been generally acknowledged, their proper interpretation has been debated. In his study of Bronze and Iron Age religious architecture in Palestine, M. Ottosson (1980: 50–51, 79–80) argues that both the Beth Shan and Lachish *Temples with Raised Holy-of-Holies* were derived from Egyptian models. He suggests that the Beth Shan *Temples* were "to be regarded almost as copies of the Amarna chapels" (Ottosson 1980: 50). This position has not continued to attract supporters; instead R. Giveon (1978: 25) has convinced most scholars that the influence worked in the opposite direction, the Amarna chapels having been modeled after Palestinian prototypes.

A. Bomann (1991: 81, 89, 93) has conducted an exhaustive study of the private chapels at Amarna and Deir el-Medineh and concurs with Giveon's hypothesis, noting in particular that benches, which are otherwise unknown in Egyptian cultic architecture, were characteristic of Syro-Palestinian temples. Bomann (1991: 93) then argues that the LB IIB-Iron IA Palestinian *Temples with Raised Holy-of-Holies* represent a development in Palestine parallel to that which had occurred earlier at Amarna under the influence of religious and cultural syncretism.

Similarly, Busink (1970: 411–422), Wimmer (1990: 1079), and A. Mazar (1992: 177) all have interpreted the Beth Shan and Lachish structures as local types, "incorporating some Egyptian elements" (Wimmer 1990: 1079). In other words, they fit the *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies* into the typology of indigenous cultic architecture, as "a connecting link between the temples of Alalakh and Hazor and Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem" (A. Mazar 1992: 177).

Although the *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies* does not appear to have been modeled directly on the Amarna chapels, the incorporation of Egyptian elements marks it as an Egyptianizing type.

Beth Shan

The level VII LB IIB *Temple* at Beth Shan had a tripartite plan (see Figure 34). An entrance room (or "ante-room") with interior measurements of 3.90 × 6.50 m provided access to the *cella* by means of a bent axis approach. One entered from the west and then executed
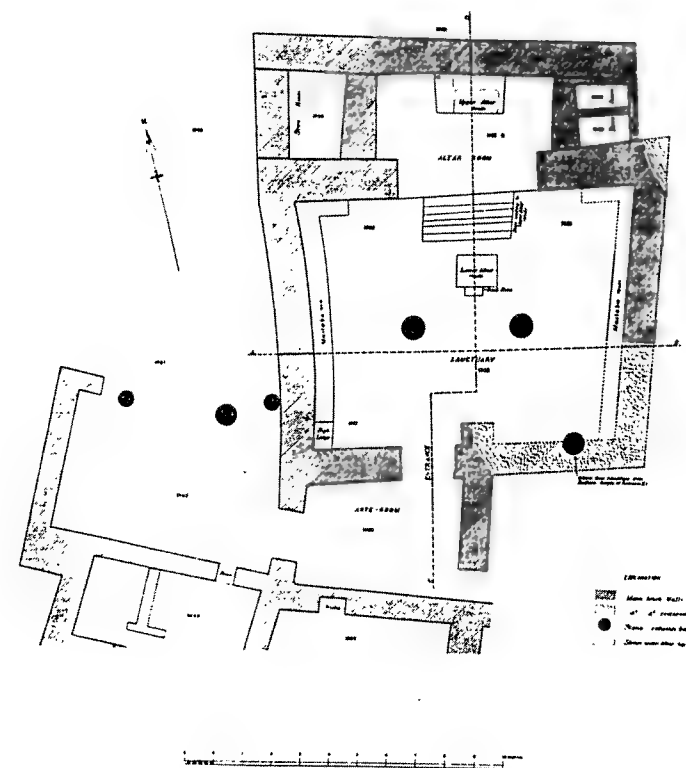
Figure 35

Temple with Raised Holy of Holies from Beth Shan Level VI (Rowe 1940: pl. VIII)

a right angle turn toward the north into the *cella*. The interior dimensions of the *cella* or "great court" were 8.40 × 10.57–11.17 m. The stone foundations of two column bases were found in the *cella* which also contained mudbrick benches along three walls, a mudbrick staircase leading to the *naos* with a mudbrick altar in front of it, and two "receptacles" in the north-west and south-west corners. The staircase was placed off the main axis of the building in the eastern half of the north wall. The *naos* was a narrow room, 1.23 m higher than the *cella* and measuring approximately 11.50 × 2.73 m. It contained
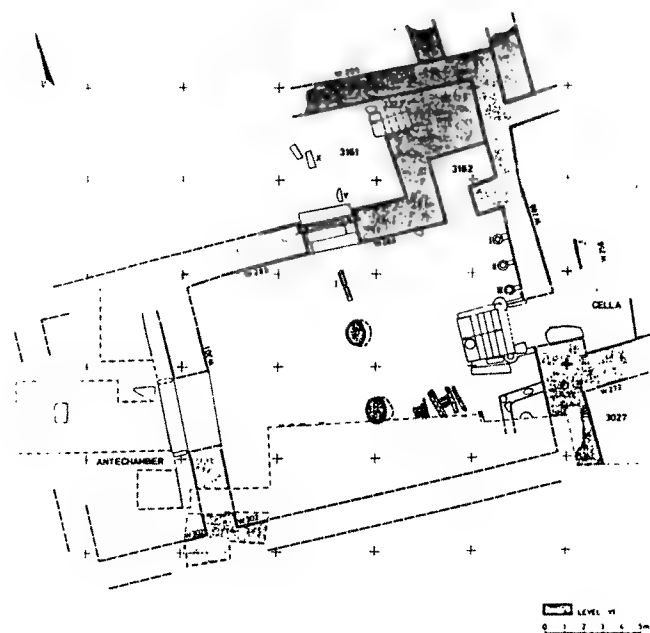
Figure 36
Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies from Lachish (Ussishkin 1978a: fig. 3)

a mudbrick altar and was adjoined by a small chamber which apparently served as a storeroom. Another subsidiary room abutted the south end of the *cella*, next to the entrance room.

The overall dimensions of the level VII *Temple*, excluding the entrance room and adjacent chamber, were 14.85 × 13.25-14.20 m. The building was built of mudbrick laid directly on the level VIII debris without any foundations (Rowe 1940: 7-9, pl. VI).

The *Temple* was rebuilt along the same lines in level VI (Iron IA). An additional entrance court was added on the west side of the building (see Figure 35). It measured 4.67 × 7.15-7.70 m and was entered through a wide doorway flanked by two columns. Another doorway led to an entrance room similar to that of the earlier *Temple*, with dimensions of 3.35-4.12 × 5.45 m. The level VI *cella*, although still approached along a bent axis, was symmetrically arranged, with a pair of columns along the east-west axis, benches along the walls,

and a set of stairs in the center of the northern wall. A mudbrick altar stood before the stairs. The inner dimensions of the room were 8.35 × 10.45-11.80 m. The *naos* measured 4.0 × 6.05 m and contained a mudbrick and limestone altar built against the back wall. Two small chambers adjoined the *naos* on the east and one on the west.

The overall dimensions of the level VI *Temple* were 14.65 × 12.67-14.55 m, excluding the entrance room. The walls were built of mudbrick. The north wall of the *cella* had a foundation of a single course of undressed basalt stones. All of the other walls were laid directly on the debris layer, except for the east exterior wall which was constructed directly on top of the remains of the earlier *Temple* wall (Rowe 1940: 13-17, pl. VIII).

Lachish

The renewed excavations at Lachish unearthed a poorly preserved *Temple with Raised Holy-of-Holies* (see Figure 36) in level VI (LB IIB). The entrance room was very poorly preserved. Since only the eastern wall and the southeastern corner of the room were excavated, the original dimensions of the room and the position of the entrance can not be determined with certainty. The excavator reconstructed a set of stairs leading from the entrance room to the *cella* which was 1.30 m higher. Various stone slabs found in the vicinity of the doorway may have formed part of the staircase.

The *cella* measured 16.50 × 13.20 m and had a brick floor. Two limestone pillar bases and charred remains of cedar of Lebanon beams show that a pair of columns supported a wooden roof. A wide doorway in the north wall of the *cella* led to an antechamber. Another very small chamber was located near the northeastern corner of the *cella*. Most of the objects found in the *Temple* came from this room. Along the northern half of the east wall of the *cella* were found three chalk column bases which were attached to the wall by brick pilasters. Parts of three octagonal chalk columns were found in the area of the *Temple* and fit the markings on the bases. An installation with 1.10 m high stone walls was located in the southwest corner of the *cella*. The walls and bottom of the installation were thickly plastered. In the center of the eastern wall, a staircase of well-hewn stone slabs led to the *naos*.

The *naos*, like the entrance room, was very poorly preserved and can only be partly reconstructed. It was apparently a very small chamber with adjoining subsidiary room(s). The floor of the *naos* was a plastered stone pavement (Ussishkin 1978a: 10-17).

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